

# BANTU STUDIES

A JOURNAL

*devoted to the Scientific Study of*

BANTU, HOTTENTOT AND BUSHMAN

---

Vol.—Deel XV

JUNE—JUNIE, 1941

No. 2

---

## CONTENTS—INHOUD

PAGE—  
BLADSY

A Short Survey of Native Law in South Africa	
JULIUS LEWIN .....	65
Die Zulu Isigodi	
J. F. HOLLEMAN .....	91
Praises in Northern Sotho	
H. J. VAN ZYL .....	119
Specimens of the Swaka and West Lala Dialects	
J. T. MUNDAY .....	157
Father of the Man	
C. J. OPPER .....	185
Problems in Classifying Literature on the Bantu	
JULIAN ROLLNICK .....	191
Book Reviews .....	197

---

JOHANNESBURG

THE WITWATERSRAND UNIVERSITY PRESS

---

Reprinted with the permission of the original publishers  
KRAUS REPRINT LTD.

Vaduz

1964

## EDITORIAL BOARD—REDAKSIE-RAAD

Professor J. A. ENGELBRECHT, M.A., Ph.D.	Universiteit van Pretoria.
Professor P. R. KIRBY, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.C.M.	University of the Witwatersrand.
J. D. KRIGE, B.A., LL.B.	Rhodes University College.
Professor G. P. LESTRADE, M.A.	University of Cape Town.
Professor L. F. MAINGARD, M.A., D.Litt., L.-en-D.	University of the Witwatersrand.
Z. K. MATTHEWS, M.A., LL.B.	S. A. Native College.
Professor P. J. SCHOEMAN, D.Phil.	Universiteit van Stellenbosch.

## EDITORIAL COMMITTEE—REDAKSIE-KOMITEE

Senator the Hon. J. D. RHEINALLT JONES, M.A.
Professor C. M. DOKE, M.A., D.Litt.
Professor I. SCHAPER, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc. (University of Cape Town).
JULIUS LEWIN, B.A., LL.B. (University of the Witwatersrand).

## JOINT EDITORS—GESAMENTLIKE REDAKTEURS

Senator J. D. RHEINALLT JONES
Professor C. M. DOKE

---

*All communications should be  
addressed to*

THE EDITOR, *Bantu Studies*,  
University of the Witwatersrand,  
Johannesburg.

*Geliewe Korrespondensie  
te rig aan*

DIE REDAKTEUR, *Bantoe Studies*,  
Universiteit van die Witwatersrand,  
Johannesburg,

*The Journal is issued  
quarterly.*

*The annual subscription to  
the Journal is 12/6; single  
copies may be obtained  
at 4/- each.*

*Die Tydskrif verskyn elke  
kwartaal.*

*Die jaarlikse inskrywingsgeld  
is 12/6; aparte eksemplare  
kan verkry word teen  
4/- elk.*

Printed in Germany

Lessing-Druckerei Wiesbaden



# A SHORT SURVEY OF NATIVE LAW IN SOUTH AFRICA\*

By JULIUS LEWIN

## I. THE SOURCES OF NATIVE LAW

In the early literature the study of Native Law is not clearly distinguished from problems of Native administration on the one hand and the study of primitive tribal law on the other.

To this day it is not always either possible or profitable to make the first distinction because the effective administration of Native Law is itself a major problem. But the second distinction should be kept in mind.

A large part of Native Law is to-day recognised and applied. This is sometimes called "recognised Native Law" as distinguished from unrecognised tribal law, which, though it may still be observed by the people, is not recognised and consequently not enforced by the Administration.

We have made this broad distinction the basis of our survey. Tribal law, we believe, properly falls within the province of the anthropologist. When it is recognised, however, its recognition gives rise to problems of law and of administration which properly fall within the province of the student of Native Law and Administration.

It should of course be added at once that there are many problems which arise in the borderland between these two provinces and which can be profitably studied from both points of view.

In the course of his survey of *The Present State and Future Development of Ethnographical Research in South Africa* (*Bantu Studies*, September, 1934), Professor I. Schapera, as an anthropologist, discussed the study of and literature relating to tribal law. He is now engaged in bringing that survey up-to-date. It is therefore superfluous to include in this survey discussion of tribal law except in so far as gaps in our knowledge of it affect problems of recognition and application of Native law.

Historically, the study of Native Law has been dependent largely on the Administration, its officials and their needs. Most of the literature has been written from the administrative angle and it has naturally been

---

\*This survey was compiled at the request of the Inter-University Committee for African Studies. It was circulated in draft to members of the Committee, and I am indebted for some suggestions to Professor P. J. Schoeman and to Dr. H. J. Simons.

coloured by the administrator's outlook. Indeed, even to-day in the administration of justice according to Native Law, the accent is still on administration, sometimes more frankly on the features of public policy that administration is bound to reflect. Unlike European law, Native law has not in the past had the benefit of independent study by private practitioners, who are conscious of other interests than the Administration's, or by academic lawyers who can claim to be disinterested. Moreover, the belated recognition of Native law, which became Union-wide only in 1927, probably accounts for some lack of interest in it outside the Transkeian Territories before that date.

The earliest sources of our knowledge of Native Law are mainly the reports of commissions appointed to inquire into particular problems.

Of these the first seems to have been the Natal Native Commission of 1852. Like the other commissions<sup>1</sup> which in the following generation were appointed for a similar purpose—notably, the Commission on Basuto Laws and Customs of 1873 and the famous Cape Commission of 1883—this Commission found itself faced with administrative problems mainly arising from the conflict of European or Colonial Law, as it was called, with Bantu tribal Law.

It is this subject which occupies the bulk of the literature from the middle until the end of the nineteenth century. The judicial powers of Chiefs, Natives and the criminal law, Native marriage with dowry in contrast with Christian marriage, the wholly different laws regarding inheritance—these are the things that puzzled the Administration and its advisers.

Related to these administrative aspects of Native Law and to the problems of its conflict with European law is inquiry into the content of Native Law.

The main source of our knowledge of Native Law is the writings of those who record their own knowledge of it based on direct contact or observation. In this respect our knowledge is both incomplete and defective and Native law is accordingly weakened in its struggle both for official recognition and in its conflict with European law.

Maclean's *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (1858) represents the first attempt to undertake the task of reducing Native law to writing for the information and guidance of all concerned with the administration of justice according to Native law. Maclean, who was Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria, was considerably assisted by experienced administrators and missionaries like Dugmore, Warner, Brownlee, Ayliff,

---

<sup>1</sup> The bibliography below lists the most important Reports.



and others, whose notes and comments form the bulk of the book. When the work was submitted to the Governor, Sir George Grey, it was printed by his authority "as a generally correct exposition of Kafir jurisprudence."

The next effort in the same direction was that of the Cape Commission, appointed in 1880, whose first duty was to inquire into Native law as it was then recognised and administered in the Transkeian Territories. The Commission had the benefit of Maclean's compilation which it proceeded to "supplement with some additional details of the laws and customs now existing and acknowledged, as furnished by witnesses under examination and others who have been acute observers of Native usages, as well as by administrators and magistrates who have had a practical acquaintance with them in the course of their official duty."

Appended to the Commission's Report are "summaries of Native laws and customs" drawn from Maclean, from the Proceedings of the Commission on Native Laws and Customs of the Basutos, 1873, from the Natal Code of Native Law, and from the replies to a circular on marriage, inheritance, and crime.

The Report of the Commission, which was published in 1883, together with the minutes of evidence, is to-day still unquestionably the major source of our knowledge of the substance of Native law. Written with admirable lucidity, the Report has become a classic document, and it is a misfortune that copies are now so rare that it is not readily available for reference.

The Report contains a digest of what was known of Native law as such at the time of its publication. Its apparent adequacy may have seemed to render further inquiries or records unnecessary because another twenty-five years were to elapse before another contribution was made. In 1909 the Transvaal Government published a booklet by Harries on *Sepedi Law and Custom*, a publication doubly welcome inasmuch as the Cape Commission's Report was naturally confined very largely to what are now recognised as the Nguni peoples and there was virtually nothing on record about the law of the Sotho peoples.

The fourth notable contribution of this kind has gone far to fill the gap indicated. The publication in 1938 of a substantial *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, compiled by Professor I. Schapera, marked a new stage in the process of recording Native law. For the first time a trained anthropologist had produced such a record for the express purpose of making the information it contained available in the administration of justice according to Native law.

Moreover, by taking some pains to present the material as far as possible in the categories normally adopted in legal literature, he rendered

his book obviously useful to practising lawyers and practical administrators.

No less significant is the fact that this *Handbook* was compiled at the instance of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration which had commissioned Professor Schapera to undertake the work and which had provided him with facilities that enabled him to complete it within a few years.

The recording of Native law does not, of course, mean its embodiment in a rigid code, such as prevails in Natal. The original version of the Natal Code of Native Law, promulgated in 1878, was the work of a Board of Native Administration. What inquiries were made by the Board does not seem to be known; no doubt it relied on existing unpublished material and on the knowledge of experienced administrators. After a few years the Code was revised and in 1891 it was passed in the form of Law 19 of that year when it became legally binding on the Courts. It remained unaltered until 1932 when it was again revised. The Code embodies the substance of Native law as it is applied in Natal and there is a tendency to follow it in the Transvaal.

The need to reduce Native law to writing remains. Although accurate information on almost every aspect of Bantu life has been accumulating at a rapid rate in the last twenty years, it is a remarkable fact that even to-day the customary law of most tribes remains wholly unrecorded. The main reason seems to be that the work published by anthropologists has hitherto usually taken the form of a general "monograph." Such books often include a chapter or two of legal interest on marriage customs or on tribal courts or, less frequently, on inheritance; and monographs are, of course, indirectly useful to lawyers in depicting the background against which cases must be considered, particularly in estimating the credibility of Native witnesses. But the material presented seldom makes the distinction necessary for most legal purposes between customs that might be regarded as mere social conventions and those which are "laws," that is, features essential to the validity of a legal process. As Sir Donald Cameron has pointed out, we must avoid "the confusion of mere ceremonial practices with the essential requirements of law; for instance, dances and drumming at a Native wedding are the invariable custom, but they are not, like the payment of dowry, essential in Native law to the validity of the marriage."<sup>2</sup>

The Native Appeal Court has also recognised and enforced this distinction.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Tanganyika Territory Native Administration Memoranda. No. II. Native Courts.

<sup>3</sup> *Sila v. Masuka*, 9 N.A.C. (N. and T.), 1937, p. 121.



The gaps in our knowledge of tribal law are particularly large in the field of constitutional or public law, i.e. the powers of the Chief and his relation to his council and tribe, and in inheritance, in delicts, and in the law of procedure.

What Sir Alan Pim reported of Bechuanaland in 1933 is true of many tribes in Southern Africa, namely, that a compilation of tribal customary law "has now become a matter of great importance and urgency. The old Chiefs, who had a wide knowledge of the subject (a knowledge sometimes misapplied), have gone and very few remain of their old advisers who were also experts in the subject. The new Chiefs and their new advisers have not the same knowledge of the traditions of the past, and it would be of great assistance to them and a valuable adjunct to the regulated procedure which is being introduced in the tribal courts if a record were compiled giving the opinion of the best Native authorities available on the principles applicable to the main questions likely to be involved in cases tried in the tribal assembly. In its absence decisions will rest on no firm basis and may vary to an extent causing substantial injustice and possibly considerable economic loss. Unless a record is compiled in the near future its preparation will become much more difficult as the older counsellors, well versed in the subject, gradually die out. Whether a common standard is possible for all the tribes or whether tribal variations would have to be allowed for, it is not possible to say at the present stage.

While the co-operation of the Chiefs and of the leading members of the tribes would be essential to the carrying out of this project, it could not be left to their unassisted efforts as was, I understand, the method adopted in compiling the partial record of customs in Basutoland. The position is much more complicated in Bechuanaland with its numerous tribes, and the record could only be adequate if it was drawn up on comprehensive and scientific lines. So far as possible it should be uniform for the different tribes.

The advantages from such a compilation would be great, more especially as an adjunct to the Proclamation regulating the procedure of the tribal courts. The chief danger is that its compilation might tend to crystallize a custom in which a change had become desirable. This could be guarded against by treating it as a general standard, departures from which should be explained, and not as an absolutely binding law. The gradual development of existing customs in the directions determined by the changed conditions of modern times should furnish results of great interest."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Cmd. 4368. Paragraph 218.

The publications mentioned above constitute the main primary sources of our knowledge of Native law. During the past forty or fifty years, however, the reported decisions of courts of law administering justice according to Native law have grown to be the major secondary source.

In the Transkeian Territories since 1894 there has been a Native Appeal Court and in Natal since 1899 there has been a Native High Court whose judgments in all important cases have been collected and published as precedents. Since 1929 these have been extended year by year by the new series of official Reports which embody the decisions of the two divisions of the Native Appeal Court established under the Native Administration Act and superseding the old Transkeian and Natal Courts. These series of Law Reports<sup>5</sup> now form the indispensable basis for the study of Native law in practice. In addition, the Prentice-Hall Weekly Legal Service supplies prompt, if brief, reports of cases heard in the Native Appeal Courts. Two selections of cases decided in the Native Appeal Courts of Southern Rhodesia have also appeared.

Scrutiny of the Reports shows that the Courts regard as authoritative the primary sources mentioned above and also the text-books mentioned below. They also quite frequently refer to the work of anthropologists, whether in the form of books or of papers in journals, for guidance in regard to particular customs.

But it should be remembered that as these Courts are applying Native law, the judges are entitled to rely on their own knowledge of Native law. To the extent that they do so, the Reports constitute a primary as well as a secondary source of knowledge. In addition, the Courts are empowered to summon Native assessors to advise them on points of law that arise in the course of a case on which precedents or indeed any kind of information is lacking. The replies of the assessors, who are usually men of distinction in the tribe, are duly recorded whether or not the Court accepts their view of the matter in issue.

Cases involving discussion of Native law also occasionally come before the various provincial divisions of the ordinary Supreme Court, and they are then reported in the ordinary Law Reports. This happened more frequently before 1929 than it does now. When such cases do arise, however, they may be worth noting because these Courts, unlike the Native Appeal Courts, normally apply the Common, i.e. Roman-Dutch law, and are therefore not presumed to know Native law, of which they consequently hear expert evidence if necessary.

---

<sup>5</sup> A complete list is in the bibliography below.



If full use has not hitherto been made of all these volumes of Reports in the study of Native law, one reason may well be their relative inaccessibility. It is extremely hard to find a full set of them in any one library; and missing volumes in a series of Law Reports, which are all closely inter-related, are the despair of the student. To make the inquirer's task harder, there has been no regular digest made of these Reports (with the exception of two Digests of the Natal Native High Court Reports, 1899-1915) on the lines of Bisset and Smith's Digest of South African Case Law which every year covers all the ordinary Law Reports. Consequently, if one wants to know whether a particular point of Native law has arisen in the past or whether a certain custom has been discussed by the Courts, there is no means of finding out except looking through every volume of the Reports. Both divisions of the present Native Appeal Court have now been functioning for ten years so that there are already twenty volumes of Reports covering only this recent period. Some sort of regular digest is clearly desirable.

Until Native Law Reports were regularly published, it was hardly possible for anyone to write a text book of Native law because a text book, in the legal sense of the term, must be largely based on decided cases if it is to be accepted as authoritative.

The first text book of this kind was Seymour's *Native Law and Custom*, published in 1911, which confines itself to Native law in the Cape and which is almost entirely based on decisions of the Native Appeal Court.

The second text book, Mr. Whitfield's *South African Native Law*, published in 1929, was a more ambitious work if only because, as its title indicates, it took account of the possibility of developing a uniform body of Native law throughout South Africa. Based on the Law Reports, it also relied on blue books, on the writings of anthropologists, and on other sources, in the attempt to cover as much of tribal law as was known and likely to be useful to lawyers or administrators. It became and still remains the best known and most frequently quoted book on the subject.

This book, like all standard legal text books, attempts to give a systematic exposition of Native Law, and to the degree that the author expresses his own opinions on particular questions of law, it also adds directly to our knowledge.

The third text book, and the only other one that has to date been compiled on the same basis, is Mr. Stafford's *Native Law as practised in Natal*, published apparently in 1935. It is limited to the interpretation that legal decisions have put on the Natal Code and to a criticism of conflicting and doubtful decisions.

These text books, and especially Mr. Whitfield's, have in turn influenced the Courts in making particular decisions. Native law has to-day reached a stage in which the interaction of original records, of Law Reports, and of text books in its development can be traced as clearly as it can be seen in any other growing body of law.<sup>6</sup>

## II. THE FUTURE STUDY OF NATIVE LAW

The comparative neglect from which the study of Native Law has suffered in the past, leaves a rich field for future study. There is hardly a single aspect of the subject that has received adequate attention from either lawyers or sociologists. In these circumstances it would be arbitrary to select a few problems that interest the present writer and to insist that they are the most important ones. Research is always dependent to some degree on individual bent or personal interests or perhaps a fortuitous circumstance that puts good material at someone's disposal. All that can usefully be done here is to direct attention to some groups of related problems that seem to call urgently for inquiry.

Both lawyers and sociologists having just been mentioned, a word may not be amiss here about the method of approach to the problems of Native Law. There are some signs that in the past two distinct and possibly divergent attitudes have marked the work produced. The first is the orthodox attitude of the practising lawyer who is concerned solely with the practical needs of his fellow-lawyers in the profession. W. M. Seymour's old book on *Native Law and Custom*, or more recently, Mr. C. H. Blaine's *Native Courts Practice* are books of this kind that were apparently written with no larger purpose in mind than helping the legal practitioner. On the other hand, the attitude to Native Law of most anthropologists is such that they tend to regard it simply as one among many aspects of tribal culture and seldom reveal an appreciation of the thorny legal and practical problems which its recognition raises in the actual administration of justice. It is not surprising that neither of these two points of view has hitherto produced wholly satisfactory results for what is needed most of all is the recognition that law and sociology are not two utterly unrelated studies. Happily, the connection between them has received a growing emphasis in recent years, notably in the United States of America where this relationship has formed the basis of the modern school of thought known as "sociological jurisprudence." Dean Roscoe Pound, one of its leading exponents, has summarised as follows the outlook of those who adopt this method of approach :—

---

<sup>6</sup> Laymen who may not be familiar with this process will find it fully described in C. K. Allen's *Law in the Making*, 3rd ed. 1939.



"They recognise the futility of a detached, self-centred, self-sufficient jurisprudence. Beginning with the proposition that the legal order is a phase of social control and, to be understood, must be taken in its setting among social phenomena, they urge study of the actual social effects of legal institutions and legal doctrines; sociological study in preparation for law-making; study of the means of making legal precepts effective in action; study of the actual methods of juristic thinking, judicial decision, and legislative law-making; a sociological legal history in which the social background and social effects of legal precepts, legal doctrines, and legal institutions in the past shall be investigated; and, above all, study of how these effects have been brought about."

There will surely be general agreement that no more fruitful approach than this to the study of Native Law could be suggested, and it is with it in mind that we now indicate the major problems that await inquiry.

Many points of Native Law are still obscure, mainly because our historical records are so incomplete and because modern field-workers do not aim at recording all the complicated detail that lawyers find in practice that they require to know. This is the fact that lies behind the urgent need, mentioned above, to record the substance of tribal law wherever possible.

When that has been done, to some extent at least, it will simplify the next task, which is that of making a restatement of Native Law in order to deal with the growing uncertainty about its position. The main object of such a restatement should not be to codify the law but to guide its development. Native Law, like any other living body of law, is not static; indeed, it is to-day changing rapidly. Simply to record the old tribal law may not be enough. Some would urge that the real purpose of recording should be to provide the basis on which bodies of tribal law may be developed towards a Native Common Law that will be Union-wide in its application. Hitherto we have done very little to foster such unification as will reduce inter-tribal and inter-territorial conflicts of law.<sup>7</sup> Others, however, would not encourage such a development on the ground that "it would be dangerous to the soul of the tribes which each cherish a body of law with a peculiar character of its own."

<sup>7</sup> Article on Jurisprudence in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 1932, Vol. 8, p. 484.

<sup>8</sup> In his *African Survey* Lord Hailey evidently has this question in mind when he says (p. 309): "A comparative study of Native Law as it operates to-day is clearly required and its object need not necessarily be codification. It is generally agreed that the codification in Natal, with its promulgation in 1891, has tended in the absence of periodic revisions to deprive Native Law of that elasticity in adaptation which alone can enable it to meet the needs of a changing society."

Inquiry is needed to disclose the full extent of these conflicts but there is already ample evidence that the problem they raise is a serious one. The present rule, embodied in the Native Administration Act, is that where plaintiff and defendant fall under different laws, the defendant's law shall decide the case; but this simple rule offers no adequate solution to the many difficulties that arise.

Even larger problems of conflict than those within the field of Native Law itself have emerged. The conflict of Native Law with European or Roman-Dutch Law is a major subject that has hardly been touched by inquiry. To what extent has Native Law been recognised? Does it oust the Common Law from application to Natives? Can we develop two parallel systems of law? The South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903-5 expressed the opinion that "the object of improving Native Law and, as far as may be, assimilating it with the ordinary Colonial Law should be kept in view as an ultimate goal."<sup>9</sup> Times have changed since that recommendation was made, but we have done virtually nothing to cope with the issue it presented. Yet in the law relating to seduction, to women's status, to prescription, and to the incidents of marriage—to mention only a few outstanding examples—cases repeatedly occur that disclose conflict between Native law and Common law, a conflict the deeper because it is one of social ideas as well as of legal principles. Certainly the study of Native Law has not offered the Courts the benefit of its assistance in their difficult task. The Conflict of Laws, often called Private International Law, is a branch of legal studies that has grown in strength and significance in the last generation. Its principles and precedents offer a guide to our own problems of conflict that we should not neglect any longer.

The Native Administration Act of 1927 marked a turning point in the history of Native Law in South Africa because it made possible for the first time the Union-wide application of Native custom by the special series of Courts established for Native litigants. But, like most legislation, the Act is by no means clear in its meaning on a number of vital points, and these have been interpreted in diverse ways by the Courts in cases that have arisen and by Administration in the course of its daily practice. What is much needed is a study of the problems in the application of Native Law that have arisen *since* recognition was granted. Such a study could perhaps best be undertaken as part of a larger study of the working of the whole legal structure created by the Act. It should certainly include an analysis of the business of the Courts, i.e. of the types of cases that come to Court.

---

<sup>9</sup> Paragraph 233.



The possibilities of inquiry in this field are numerous. Neither the Chiefs' Courts nor the Native Commissioners' Courts nor the Native Appeal Courts have yet received any close attention from independent observers, although their practice and precedents suggest a host of interesting questions. This is one of the subjects to which Lord Hailey drew particular attention in the course of his recent Survey. "There are few problems," he wrote,<sup>11</sup> "which demand more careful study than that of an effective adjustment of existing judicial methods to meet the needs of the African Native. It is regrettable that the subject has not been brought under any comprehensive inquiry by the Governments concerned. In the Union, Commissions such as the Cape Native Laws and Customs Commission of 1883 dealt at some length with the general legal position in regard to Natives, but no specific inquiry has been made on the administration of justice."

How successfully Native Law is reflecting or can reflect the changing habits and activities of the Natives is another fascinating theme that would repay investigation. The status of women, to mention only one notable instance, is known to be in condition hardly less than chaotic because the legal theories now followed do not fit the facts of the contemporary scene. It must suffice to note here that there are plenty of other problems that raise the same question.

So far we have remarked only on the problems arising in regard to civil justice because it is these that involve a knowledge of Native Law. What one might call Native concepts of crime are scarcely recognized at all. The problems arising in the administration of criminal justice to Natives are therefore of a somewhat different kind, many of them falling in the field of administration rather than of law. Crime and its punishment is a subject that arouses high feeling among the Natives and yet it is one that has never been fully explored. What we need is a survey of crime and its incidence in particular areas, such as the Witwatersrand, where the number of Native offenders is known to be mounting every year. Punishment, prison administration, juvenile delinquency, and penal reform generally—all these present in practice questions that well deserve study by investigators trained in our Universities; and here it is clearly to sociologists rather than to lawyers that they will turn for co-operation in any projected inquiry.

### III. THE TEACHING OF NATIVE LAW

The courses in Native Law offered by South African universities are shown in the Appendix. The most notable difference seems to be that whereas the Universities of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand, Stellenbosch

---

<sup>11</sup> *An African Survey*, p. 300.

and Pretoria all teach Native Law as part of a wider course which covers Native Administration or Social Anthropology, the University of South Africa—and this applies to those of its constituent colleges that teach Bantu Studies—has a separate course in Native Law. This course is really designed for law students and Cape Town and Stellenbosch also recognize this need by offering a separate course in Native Law for students taking the LL.B. degree, and Witwatersrand is also considering such a course.

Native Law has suffered in the past from neglect by lawyers and consequently it is highly desirable to encourage law students to take a course in Native Law during their legal training. On the other hand, in view of what has been said above about methods of approach to the subject, it would be a pity if anything were done to weaken the relation that now exists between Native Law and Native Administration and Social Anthropology. The fact of the matter is that the teaching of Native Law, like its study, will suffer if it is approached from anything but the broadest sociological standpoint. Indeed, the state of Native Law to-day is such that the doctrine of "public policy," as was indeed contemplated by the Native Administration Act, influences its development deeply. This consideration alone must give anyone pause before regarding Native Law as simply a technical legal study. At the same time we must not go to the other extreme. We must remember that the field of Native Law is wider than a study of unrecognised tribal law and its sanctions would suggest. As was pointed out on the first page of this survey, such a study tends to fall within the sphere of Social Anthropology, as a glance at some of the syllabuses in use shows. This makes a convenient division of the subject, and one which would avoid confusion of thought if it were generally adopted.

It may be noted here that, excepting Stellenbosch, none of the Universities appears to make much effort to bring the teaching of Native Law into some clear relation to European Law. We have emphasised in the foregoing pages how important are the problems of conflict between Native and European Law. If these problems are to be studied thoroughly, the student of Native Law will require some knowledge of European Law, and, consequently, it becomes essential that it should be possible for such a student to take one or two courses in Roman-Dutch Law, and perhaps in other branches of law, without necessarily doing the whole LL.B. degree.

The teaching of Native Law is considerably hampered by the present lack of suitable text books. Of the books available, Mr. Whitfield's compendious one is large and very expensive and, moreover, pre-supposes



at least an elementary knowledge of law which few students now possess. They are therefore hard put to it to find their way through its complicated pages, as might be expected from the fact that the book was intended to meet the needs of trained legal practitioners rather than students. The last remark applies also to Mr. Blaine's book and to Mr. Stafford's. With the exception of Professor Schapera's *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* and Harries' *Bapedi Law and Custom*, practically all the other relevant books are out of print, including the valuable and readable Report of the Cape Commission of 1883. The older Native Law Reports have also all been out of print for many years and it is quite impossible to procure copies of most of them.

Those who wish to learn Native law but who cannot attend a University, such as external students or Native Commissioners, to-day find it exceedingly difficult to acquire even the necessary minimum of knowledge. And so, of course, do individual Bantu who would like to learn some Native law. Provision for such students is badly needed. In addition, attorneys should at least be given the option of taking Native law as one of the subjects in their professional examinations.

The present writer has in preparation a book on the problems of Native Law, specially designed to be useful for teaching purposes. Its text will be illustrated by extracts from the Report of 1883, cases selected from both the early and the current Native Law Reports, and passages from some of the other books mentioned, particularly those that are out of print. It will include the results of research into the actual working of the special Courts established by the Native Administration Act.

A thesis on *Zulu Grondereg* by J. F. Holleman will be published in the near future and another on *Personereg by die Xosa* by J. van Tromp.

Professor P. J. Schoeman has in preparation a book on *Koningskap by die Zulu*, and Mr. J. Vos one on *Die Informele Reg van die Kwenastam van Molepolole*.

## APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY COURSES IN NATIVE LAW AND  
ADMINISTRATION

1. *University of Cape Town :*  
Native Law and Administration I and II.  
M.A. in Native Law and Administration.  
Special course in Native Law for LL.B. students.  
M.A. in African Studies.
2. *University of the Witwatersrand :*  
Native Law and Administration I and II.  
B.A. Hons. in Social Anthropology includes the option of a course  
in Comparative Native Law and Administration.
3. *University of Stellenbosch :*  
Native Administration I, II and III, and M.A.  
The courses in Native Administration include Native Law and  
there is a special course in Native Law for LL.B. students.  
Students studying Native Administration can also take three  
courses in Roman-Dutch Law for their B.A. degree.
4. *University of Pretoria :*  
Native Administration I and II.  
M.A. in Public Administration (includes option of Native Adminis-  
tration).
5. *University of South Africa :*  
Native Administration I and II.  
Native Law (for LL.B.).  
M.A. in African Studies may be taken in Native Administration.

## IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

(a) *Government Reports**(In chronological order)*

*Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the past and present  
state of the Kafirs in the District of Natal, and to report upon their  
future government . . . . .* 1852-3. 64 pp.

Traces the recognition of Native Law from 1848, discusses the  
legal powers of Chiefs, and summarises Native law relating to crimes,  
marriage, and succession to property.



*Proceedings of the Commission appointed to inquire into the past and present state of the Kafirs in the District of Natal, and to report upon their future government.* . . . Natal: printed and published by J. Archbell and Son at the office of the "Natal Government Gazette," Pietermaritzburg. 1852. Parts I—VII. (about 350 pp.).

Verbatim report of evidence given, mainly on position and administration of Natives, but including statement on the judicial powers of Chiefs by J. H. M. Struben and precise and valuable statements on crime, marriage and inheritance of property by H. F. Fynn, Assistant Resident Magistrate, Pietermaritzburg.

Macleay, — ed. *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs.* 168 pp. 1858. Mount Coke: Wesleyan Mission Press. 1906. Grahams-town: J. Slater.

Compiled by direction of Colonel Macleay, who was Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria, and "printed for the Government."

*Report and Evidence of Commission on Native Laws and Customs of the Basutos.* Cape of Good Hope. Cape Town: Saul Solomon. 1873. 68 pp. (Appendix 3 to Votes and Proceedings of Parliament, 1873. Native Affairs).

*Report of the Natal Native Commission, 1881-2.* 52 pp. Pietermaritzburg. Vause, Slatter and Co., Government Printers; 1882.

Deals briefly with polygamy and *lobola*. Also with land tenure.

*Report and Proceedings, with appendices, of the Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs.* 54 + 1. + 559. + 426. Cape Town: Richards and Sons, Government Printers. G. 4—1883.

*Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-5, with Minutes of Evidence.* 5 vols. Cape Town: Cape Times, Government Printers. 1904 and 1905.

A long Appendix provides a Comparative Digest of Laws affecting Natives prepared for the Commission by a Cape advocate, A. J. McGregor.

*Report of the Native Suitors' Commission, Colony of Natal, 1903.* 33 pp. Published as Government Notice No. 193 of 1903.

Valuable, especially the Minority Report by S. O. Samuelson, for the light it throws on Native attitudes to lawyers and to litigation and its costs, and on the origin and object of the Natal Code.

*Report of the Native Affairs Commission, Colony of Natal, 1906-7.* 1907. Pietermaritzburg: P. Davis and Sons, Government Printers. 54 pp.

Contains brief but useful discussion on the Natal Code and the need for amendment, exemption from Native Law. marriage by

Christian rites, the working of the Courts Act of 1898, and the Native attitude to lawyers.

*Native Affairs Commission, Colony of Natal, 1906-7. Evidence.* 1,051 pp. Pietermaritzburg: P. Davis and Sons, Government Printers. 1907.

*Reports of the Native Affairs Commission, 1910.* Cape Colony. Cape Town: Cape Times, Government Printers. 1910. 56 pp.

Includes good discussion of legal consequences of Christian marriage, especially in regard to inheritance where the conflict of Native and European law produces difficulties; and of *lobolo* and the need for recognizing Native customary unions. Some of the main recommendations were adopted in the 1927 Act on the need for which this Report throws light.

*Report of the Select Committee of the Senate of the Union of South Africa on Native Custom and Marriage Laws together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence and Appendix.* Senate S.C. 6—1913. 97 pp.

*Basutoland Native Laws of Lerotholi as amended by the National Council of 1922.* 12 pp. n.d.

*Natal Code of Native Law.* Pretoria: Government Printer. 1932. 32 pp.

#### (b) *Law Reports*

##### (*In chronological order*)

Henkel, Benjamin, ed. *Reports of Cases decided in the Native Appeal Courts of the Transkeian Territories, 1894 to 1909.* (1 N.A.C.) XXIII + 278. Cape Town: 1910. Cape Times.

Henkel, Benjamin, ed. *Reports of Cases decided in the Native Appeal Courts of the Transkeian Territories, 1910-11.* (2 N.A.C.) XIV + 196. Cape Town: 1912. Cape Times.

Meaker, R., ed. *Native Appeal Court Records: A Selection of Cases, 1912—1917.* (3 N.A.C.) XXII + 305. Cape Town: 1919. Cape Times.

Dickinson, A. V. and Meaker, R., ed. *Selection of Cases decided by the Native Appeal Court for the Transkeian Territories during the years 1918—1922.* (4 N.A.C.) LIX + 382. Cape Town: 1924. Cape Times, Government Printers.

Mears, W. J. G. *Selection of Cases decided by the Native Appeal Court for the Transkeian Territories during the years 1923—1927.* (5 N.A.C.) XXII + 212. Pretoria: 1928. Government Printer.



Mears, W. J. G., ed. *Selection of Cases decided by the Native Appeal Court of the Transkeian Territories during 1928-1929.* (6 N.A.C.) 44 pp. Pretoria: Government Printer. 1934.

Warner, W. E. *Report of important cases heard in the Native Territories (Transkeian) Appeal Court, 1894-1907.*

Butterworth: Gazette Office. 52 pp.

Machanik, Gerald. ed. *Selection of Cases decided in the Native Appeal and Divorce Court (Cape and Orange Free State Division) during the year 1929.* Vol. I. 29 pp. Vol. II. 93 pp. 1931. Cape Town: Juta.

*Selected Decisions of the Native Appeal Court, Cape and Orange Free State. (Official).* (mimeographed). 1931. Vol. III. 54 pp. 1932. Vol. IV. 62 pp. 1933. Vol. V. 78 pp. 1934. Vol. VI. ? 1935. Vol. VII. 91 pp. Department of Native Affairs.

*Selected Decisions of the Native Appeal Court (Cape and Orange Free State).* 1936. Vol. VIII. 1-135 pp. 1937. Vol. IX. 136-237 pp. 1938. Vol. X. v + 107 pp. 1939. Vol. XI. 169 pp. 1940. Vol. XII (in continuation; issued in quarterly parts). Pretoria: Government Printer.

Biljon, P. van, ed. *Decisions of the Native Appeal and Divorce Court (Transvaal and Natal Division):* 1929. Vol. I. 162 pp. 1930. Vol. II. 173 pp. 1931. Cape Town: Juta.

*Selected Decisions of the Native Appeal Court, (Transvaal and Natal)* (mimeographed). 1931. Vol. III ? 1932. Vol. IV 60 pp. 1933. Vol. V 655 pp. 1934. Vol. VI. 92 pp. 1935. Vol. VII. 50 pp. 1936. Vol. VIII. 98 pp. Department of Native Affairs.

*Selected Decisions of the Native Appeal Court (Natal and Transvaal).* 1937. Vol. IX. 163 pp. 1938. Vol. X. 280 pp. 1939. Vol. XI. 161 pp. 1940. Vol. XII. (in continuation: issued in quarterly parts). Pretoria: Government Printer.

*Prentice-Hall Weekly Legal Service.* Vol. XV. 1929. In continuation.

This weekly digest of cases decided in superior courts began in 1929 a section covering the decisions of the Native Appeal Court. Durban: Prentice-Hall Service (Pty) Ltd.

Bisset, Murray and Smith, Percival Frere. *Digest of South African Case Law containing the Reported Decisions of the Superior Courts to the end of 1921.* Consolidated Edition edited by Thomas Graeme Duncan. Six Volumes. Cape Town: Juta.

Volume IV includes under "Native Customs" summaries of the decisions of the old Native Appeal Courts; and under "Native" summaries of other cases affecting Natives.

Smith, Percival Frere and Duncan, Graeme, ed. *Digest of South African Case Law containing the Reported Decisions of the Superior Courts from 1922—1933*. Vol. I. 701 pp. 1936. Cape Town: Juta. Vol. II. 629 pp.

The second volume includes under "Native" summaries of all the important cases affecting Natives; especially useful are those in the sub-divisions "Husband and Wife" and "Administration and Succession." Unfortunately, these volumes cover only the various divisions of the Supreme Court and not the Native Appeal Courts as well.

*Reports of the Decisions of the Full Court of the Native High Court of Natal*. Vol. I—XXXI. 1899-1929. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Issued in two parts every year, these slim volumes of 20 to 60 pages each cover the leading cases decided in the Court, which before 1929 had civil as well as criminal jurisdiction.

Lugg, H. C., ed. *Digest of Native High Court Reports, 1899—1915*. 143 pp. Pietermaritzburg: P. Davis and Sons. n.d.

Matthews, Maynard, ed. *Digest of the Native High Court Reports, Natal, 1899—1909*. 150 pp. Pietermaritzburg: P. Davis and Sons.

Fynn, J. L. W., ed. *Reports of Decisions of the Native Appeal Court, Southern Rhodesia and of Cases Reviewed by the Chief Native Commissioner*. Vol. I. Part I. pp. 1-48 and 1-16. Part II 1933—1936. pp. 49-100 and 17-22. Salisbury: Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Co.

### (c) *Other Literature*

#### (In alphabetical order)

Blaine, Charles Herbert. *Native Courts Practice*. 1931. Cape Town: Juta. 234 pp.

Annotates the Native Administration Act of 1927, indicating briefly how the Courts have interpreted the meaning of its sections and phrases in cases that have arisen.

Braatvedt, H. P. "Zulu marriage customs and ceremonies." *South African Journal of Science*. 24. 553-565. 1927.

Britten, H. "Twala: The Recognition of Native Customary Unions." *Bantu Studies*. IV. 269-277. 1930.



- Brookes, Edgar H. "Administration of Justice." pp. 380-394, *Coming of Age : Studies in South African Citizenship and Politics*. 1930. Cape Town : Maskew Miller.
- Brookes, Edgar H. *History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the Present Day*. 1927. 2nd Revised Edition. Pretoria : van Schaik. XII. 524.
- Includes chapters on the nature and general content of Native Law, on its recognition and codification, and on polygamy and *lobolo*.
- Bullock, C. "Can a Native make a will? Concepts of testate succession in Native Law." *Nada*. 7 : 104-109. 1927.
- Bullock, Charles. *The Mashona : the indigenous Natives of Southern Rhodesia*. 1927? Cape Town : Juta IV. 400 pp.
- A large part of the book deals specifically with the relation between Native and European law, particularly in regard to various crimes and to marriage.
- Child, H. F. "Amandebele Custom : divorce and dowry." *Nada*, 1932, 36—39.
- Clerc, André. "The Marriage Laws of the Ronga Tribe." *Bantu Studies*. 1938. XII. 75-104.
- Dicke, B. H. "Notes on Some Customs arising out of Bantu Marriage." *S.A. Journal of Science*. XXVII. 549—556. 1930.
- Includes some remarks on tribal differences in *lobola* customs.
- Eiselen, Werner. "Preferential Marriage." *Africa*. I. 413-28. 1928.
- Eiselen, Werner. "Die Posisie van die Weduwee by die Heidense en by die Kristelike Batau." *Bantu Studies*. IX. 281—285.
- Engelbrecht, J. A. "Swazi Customs relating to Marriage." 27 pp. *Annals of the University of Stellenbosch*, Vol. VIII B. Section 3. 1930.
- Franklin, N. N. *Natives and the Administration of Justice*. (Reprinted from the "South African Outlook.") Lovedale Press. 38 pp. n.d.
- Fynn, J. L. W. "Evidence of customs, etc." *Nada*, 1938. No. 15. 88—97.
- Useful notes and comments on the practice of the Southern Rhodesia Native Appeal Court.
- G., P. C. "Colonial Law and Native Custom." *South African Law Journal*. 1911. XXVIII. 68-72 ; 341-348.
- Garthorne, E. R. *The Application of Native Law in the Transvaal*, 1924. 29 pp.

Garthorne, E. R. "Applications of Native Law." *Bantu Studies*. III. 245-259. 1927.

Hailey, Malcolm Hailey, 1st Baron. *An African Survey: a study of problems arising in Africa South of the Sahara*. London: Oxford University Press. 1938. XXVIII. 1837 pp.

The Section devoted to law and justice is the most comprehensive modern discussion of the problems arising in the administration of justice in Africa, including the Union.

Harries, C. L. *Notes on Sepedi Laws and Customs*. Pretoria: Government Printing and Stationery Office. 1909. vii. 81 pp.

Compiled for the Native Affairs Department of the Transvaal. Useful outline of law relating to marriage, inheritance, and crime. "Taken down, nearly word for word, from old men renowned for their knowledge of tribal matters," and verified from other sources.

Harries, C. L. *The Laws and Customs of the Bapedi and Cognate Tribes of the Transvaal*. 1929. Johannesburg: Hortors, ix. 158.

A revised edition of the 1909 publication.

Hoernle, Agnes W. "The importance of the sib in the marriage ceremonies of the South Eastern Bantu." *South African Journal of Science*. 22: 481-92. 1925.

Holleman, J. E. "Die Twee-Eenheidsbeginsel in die Sosiale en Politieke Samelewing van die Zulu." *Bantu Studies*. XIV. 31-75. 1940.

Jackson, H. M. G. "Notes on Matabele Customary Law:—inheritance, guardianship, wills." *Nada*. 1926. 30-34. "—marriage," *Nada*, 1927. 7-14. "—odds and ends," *Nada*, 1928, 7-11.

Jackson, H. M. G. "Some Reflections on the Relation of Law to Social Anthropology." *South African Journal of Science*. XXIV. 549-552. 1927.

Jennings, Albert E. *Bogadi: A study of the marriage laws and customs of the Bechuana Tribes of South Africa*. 62 pp. 1933. Tiger Kloof, Vryburg: London Missionary Society Bookroom.

Junod, Henri A. *The Life of a South African Tribe*. Vol. I. *Social Life*. 559 pp. Vol. II. *Mental Life*. 660 pp. 1927. London: Macmillan.

The first volume includes useful material on tribal courts and on marriage law.

Kennedy, W. P. M. and Schlosberg, H. J. *The Law and Custom of the South African Constitution*. 1935. London: Oxford University



Press. XXXIX. 640 pp. Includes an account of the whole system of European and Native courts and a summary of the maxims observed by the Courts when applying Native law.

Krause, F. E. T. "Crime and its Punishment." *South African Journal of Science*, 1939, XXXVI. 104-31.

Krige, J. D. "Bride Wealth in Balobedu Marriage Ceremonies." *Bantu Studies*. 1934. VIII. 135-149.

Krige, J. D. "Some Aspects of Lovhedu Judicial Arrangements." *Bantu Studies*. XIII. 113-129. 1939.

Lee, R. W. *An Introduction to Roman-Dutch Law*. Third Edition 1931. Oxford: Clarendon Press. lxiv. 463.

For the purpose of comparing Native Law with European law (which applies in part to Natives), this is the best short statement of the Common Law in South Africa.

Lestrade, G. P. "The *Mala* System of the Venda-speaking Tribes." *Bantu Studies*. IV. 193-204. 1930.

A very useful account of Venda law relating to marriage and dowry.

Lestrade, G. P. "Some Notes on the *Bogadi* System of the Bahurutshes." *South African Journal of Science*. XXIII. 937-942. 1926.

Lestrade, G. P. "Some Notes on the Political Organisation of the Venda-speaking Tribes." *Africa*. III. 306-322. 1930.

Also covers the legal aspects of marriage and succession.

Lewin, Julius. "Crime and Punishment in Africa." *Howard Journal*. V. 245-248. 1940.

Lewin, Julius. "Native Law and its Background: The limits of tribal law in modern Bantu life." *Race Relations*. VII. 42-48. 1940.

Lewin, Julius. "The Recognition of Native Law and Custom in British Africa." *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*. XX. 16-23. 1938.

Lewin, Julius. "The Recording of Native Law and Custom." *Journal of the Royal African Society*, XXXVII. 1938. 483-493 pp.

Lewin, Julius. "Some legal aspects of Marriage by Natives in South Africa." *Bantu Studies*. XV. 13-23. 1941.

Lewin, Julius. "Some Legal Consequences of Marriage by Native Christians in British Africa." *Modern Law Review*, III. 48-52. 1939.

- Lindley, M. F. *The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law. Being a Treatise on the Law and Practice relating to Colonial Expansion.* XX. 391. London: Longmans, Green. 1926.
- Maasdorp, Sir A. F. S. *The Institutes of South African Law: being a compendium of the Common Law, Decided Cases, and Statute Law of the Union of South Africa. Book I: The Law of Persons.* 1936. Sixth Edition. lxiii. 390. *Book II: The Law of Things.* 1923. Fifth Edition. xxxi. 353. *Book III: The Law of Obligations. Part I. Fourth Edition. Contracts.* 1 + 489. Part II and III. *Actionable Wrongs and the Dissolution and Extinction of Obligations.* Third Edition. xxxviii. 288.
- Matthews, Z. K. "Marriage Customs among the Barolong." *Africa.* XIII. 1-23. 1940.
- Meinhof, Carl. *Afrikanische Rechtsgebräuche.* 1914. Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner evangel. Missionsgesellschaft. 162 pp. (bibliography).
- Memorandum on the Administration of Justice in South Africa with special reference to the Native Population.* Pretoria: Joint Council of Natives and Europeans. 1928. 18 pp.
- Minutes of Conference on Urban Juvenile Native Delinquency held at Johannesburg.*  
Johannesburg: Non-European and Native Affairs Dept. 1938. 91 pp.  
*Findings and Recommendations.* 1939. 17 pp. (mimeographed).
- Newton, A. P. and Benians, E. A., ed. *Cambridge History of the British Empire. Vol. VIII. South Africa.* London: Cambridge University Press. 1936.  
Includes a chapter by Mr. Justice E. F. Watermeyer on the Roman-Dutch Law in South Africa.
- Phillips, Ray E. *The Bantu in the City.* 1938. Lovedale Press. XXIX + 452 pp.  
Includes a chapter on Native crime and juvenile delinquency on the Witwatersrand.
- Post, Albert Hermann. *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz: Ethnologisch-juristische Beiträge zur Kenntniss des einheimischen Rechtes Afrikas.* 1887. Oldenburg und Leipzig: Schulzesche Hof—Buchhandlung. 2 Theile XV. 480 and XXX. 192.
- Poto, Victor. *Ibali lama Mpondo.* pp. xiv. 160. 1927. Lovedale Press.  
By the Paramount Chief of Western Pondoland.



Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. "The Mother's Brother in South Africa." *South African Journal of Science*. XXI. 542-555. 1924.

Report of the Police Commission of Inquiry. U.G. 50, 1937. 126 pp.

Rogers, Howard. *Native Administration in the Union of South Africa*. 1933. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press. XVI. 172.

The section on the recognition of Native law and allied topics is the most informative statement available of the present position.

Schapera, I. ed. *The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa: an ethnographical survey*. 1937. London: Routledge. XII. 453.

Includes a valuable section by the Editor on law and justice in tribal society, based on the available anthropological material.

Schapera, I. *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*. 1938. London: Oxford University Press. XIV. 326.

Schapera, I. ed. *Mekgwa le Melao ya BaTswana*. Lovedale Press. 1938. IX. 202.

The customs and laws of the BaTswana described by various informants and recorded in the vernacular.

Schoeman, P. J. "Gevalle van Onwettige Bevrugting by die Zoeloe." *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, Jaargang XVII, Reeks B, No. 1, Mei, 1940. 43 pp. Nasionale Pers.

Seymour, Wilfrid Massingham. *Native Law and Custom: being a compendium of the recognised Native customs in force in the Native Territories of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, together with legislative amendments and Reports of some of the more important Decisions of the Native Appeal Court of Griqualand East, 1901-1909*. 1911. Cape Town: Juta. VIII. 208.

Simons, H. J. "The Study of Native Law in South Africa." *Bantu Studies*. 1938. XII. 237-242.

Stafford, W. G. *Native Law as Practised in Natal*. 1935. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. XI. 207.

*The Struggle for Native Rights in Rhodesia. Extracts from the Argument of Mr. (now Lord Justice) Leslie Scott before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, April 16 to May 2, 1918*. London: Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. 44 pp.

Torday, E. "The principles of African marriage." *Africa*. II: 225-90. 1929.

Wessels, J. W. *History of the Roman-Dutch Law*. 1908. Grahamstown: African Book Co.; and Cape Town: Juta. XV. 791.

- Whitfield, G. M. B. *South African Native Law*. 1929. Cape Town: Juta. IV. 507.
- Wille, George. *Principles of South African Law*. 1937. Cape Town: Juta. XXXVIII. 426.
- W. S. B. "Manyika Law and Custom regarding inheritance of wives; property; and guardianship of children." *Nada*, 1929, 110-112.

(d) *The following are some references relating to the Bantu in East Africa*

- Browne, G. St. J. Orde. "British Justice and the African." *Journal of the African Society*, XXXII. 148-159 and 280-293. 1933.
- Browne, G. St. J. Orde. "Witchcraft and British Colonial Law." *Africa*. VIII. 481-487. 1935.
- Bushe, H. Grattan. "Criminal Justice in East Africa." *Journal of the African Society*, XXXIV. 117-128. 1935.
- Driberg, J. H. "Primitive Law in Eastern Africa." *Africa*. I. 63-72. 1928.
- Driberg, J. H. "The African Conception of Law." *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, XVI. 230-246. 1934.
- Dundas, C. "Native Laws of some Bantu Tribes of East Africa." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, li. pp. 217-278. 1921.
- Franklin, H. *Ignorance is no Defence*. African Literature Committee of Northern Rhodesia. 1940. 24 pp.
- Gutmann, Bruno. *Das Recht der Dschagga*. 1926. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 778 pp. In a series on the development of psychology; covers tribal laws relating to kinship, land, chieftainship, crime, procedure, and evidence.
- Hall, R. de Z. "The Study of Native Court Records as a Method of Ethnographical Inquiry." *Africa*. XI. 412-427. 1938.
- The records studied related to the Bufugi area of Tanganyika, where the people are ethnologically part of the Barundi.
- Hamilton, R. W. "East African Native Laws and Customs." *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, XI. 181-195. 1910.
- Hamilton, R. W., ed. *East African Protectorate Law Reports: 1897—1905; with Appendices containing Notes on Native Customs, etc.* London: Waterlow and Sons. 1907. 3 volumes.

- Hamilton, R. W. "Some Notes on East African Native Laws and Customs." *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, XI. 181-195; XIII. 151-155. 1912-3.
- Hone, H. R. "The Native of Uganda and the Criminal Law." *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, XXI. 1939. 179-197.
- Minutes of Evidence and Memoranda submitted to the Commission of Inquiry into the Administration of Justice in Kenya, Uganda, and the Tanganyika Territory in Criminal Matters.* 1934. Colonial No. 96. pp. 221. London: H. M. Stationery Office.
- Melland, Frank and Young, Cullen. *African Dilemma.* London: United Society for Christian Literature. 1937. 171 pp.
- Native Customs in Nyasaland: No. 2. Marriage, Divorce, Succession, Inheritance.* pp. 11. Zomba: Government Printer. 1937.
- Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Administration of Justice in Kenya, Uganda, and the Tanganyika Territory in Criminal Matters, May, 1933, and Correspondence arising out of the Report.* Cmd. 4623. 1934. 160 pp.
- Richards, Audrey I. *Bemba Marriage and Present Economic Conditions.* 1940. Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. 123 pp.
- Roberts, C. Clifton. "The African Native under the English System of Penal Law." *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, XV. 169-175. 1933.
- Roberts, C. Clifton. *Tangled Justice. Some reasons for a change of policy in Africa.* pp. 157. 1937. London: Macmillan.
- Roberts, C. Clifton. "Witchcraft and Colonial Legislation." *Africa*. VIII. 488-497. 1935.
- Russell, Sir Alison. "Administration of Justice in East Africa." *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, XVII. 1-11. 1935.
- Schultz-Ewerth, Erich and Adam, Leonhard, ed. *Das Eingeborenen recht: Sitten und Gewohnheits-rechte der Eingeborenen der ehemaligen deutschen Kolonien in Afrika und in der Südsee.*  
I Band: *Ostafrika* von Bernhard Ankermann. IX + 380 pp. (bibliography).  
1929. Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder.  
A comparative survey of East African tribes, dealing mainly with family and personal law.
- Tanganyika Territory. *Native Administration Memoranda.* No. II. *Native Courts.* Dar-es-Salaam: Government Printer. 16 pp. Generally attributed to Sir Donald Cameron.



- Tupper, Sir Lewis. "Customary and Other Law in the East Africa Protectorate." *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, VII. 172-184. 1907. cf. X. 461-467.
- Wilson, Godfrey. "Introduction to Nyakyusa Law." *Africa*. X. 16-36. 1937.

# DIE ZULU ISIGODI

Deur J. F. HOLLEMAN

(Hiermee word dankbaar erkenning gemaak van die ruime geldelike steun, deur die Nasionale Navorsingsraad te Johannesburg, aan my verleen.)

Die voorbeeld wat deur Schapera<sup>1</sup> en Lestrade<sup>2</sup> gegee in in hulle enigsins gedetailleerde bespreking van die Tswana en Xhosa "wyk" is, altans vir die Zulu, nog nie nagevolg nie.

'n Opmerklike versuim, want die moderne veldondersoek het hom ten doel gestel om die brandpunte van die sosiale en organisatoriese lewe van die inheemse bevolking te ondersoek. En dit is juis binne die omvatting van hierdie kleiner strukturele eenhede waar die oorgroot deel van die ekonomiese, religieuse, sosiale en administratiewe lewe van die bevolking afgespeel word.

In die volgende bladsye word 'n poging gedoen om vir die Zulu hierdie leemte op te vul. Die materiaal vir hierdie studie is versamel gedurende die maande Julie-Augustus 1938, Julie-September 1939 en Mei-Augustus 1940, in die distrikte van Nongoma, Mahlabatini, Ušombo en Nkandhla in Zululand.

Alhoewel hier 'n poging gedoen word om sowel die vernaamste strukturele variante op die generale tema wetenskaplik te behandel, asook om 'n indruk te gee van die werklike sosiale—en regsverhoudings tussen die bevolkingsgroepe en individue, beoog hierdie artikel nóg op onfeilbaarheid van insig, nóg op volledigheid van data. Daar is skakerings in sosiale verhoudings wat slegs ter plaatse "aan den lyve" kan ondervind word en moeilik beskrywe kan word.

## DEEL I. DIE STRUKTUUR

Die *isigodi* ontstaan met die stigting van 'n nuwe kernstat, 'n *inzalamixi* (*yisigodi*)—die "krale-baarder." Uit 'n ander sentrale kernstat word 'n seksie van die bevolking oorgeplant na 'n gebied wat óf skaars óf nie (meer) bewoon is nie. Daardie ou kernstat kan wees óf 'n groot *umuzi wenkosi* (koningstat of regimentskwartier) óf 'n bestuursentrum in die gebied van 'n groot volkshoof (*umnumzana* (*wesifundu*)).

---

<sup>1</sup> I. Schapera: "Social Structure of the Tswana ward." *Bantu Studies*, Sept. 1935.

*Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom.* (Hoofstuk IV) 1938.

<sup>2</sup> G. P. Lestrade: "Some notes on the Political organization of certain Xhosa Speaking Tribes in the Transkeian Territories." *Transactions of the R.S.S.A.* Vol. XXIV, part IV.

Die redes wat hieraan ten grondslag lê, kan verskillend wees.

Dit kan blote magsuitbreiding van 'n bepaalde volkshoof of *inkosi* wees, of 'n gebiedsuitbreiding as gevolg van oorbevolking in die oorspronklike gebied, of die verhuising van 'n bevolkingsgroep as gevolg van veelvuldige siektes in die oorspronklike woonplek.

Die stigting van 'n *inzalamixi* (*yesigodi*) kan gesien word as 'n territoriale en administratiewe uitbreiding van 'n bestaande groter staatkundige eenheid ('n *isifunda*—"distrik" of 'n *umhlaba*—"ryk").

Die praktyk lewer 'n viertal variante :

1. Die stigting van die nuwe kernstat gaan gepaard met die oorpasing van 'n aantal vrouens van die regerende *inkosi* en is dus in sy aard genealogies van karakter, daar mettertyd die ver naamste seuns (*abantwana*) van daardie vrouens die bestuur oor die *isigodi* in hande sal kry.

Hier brei die *umhlaba* dus uit (of herneem sy gesag) langs die genealogiese lyne van die regerende vorstehuis.

2. Die kernstat word gestig bloot as administratiewe sentrum oor nuwe gebied of oor 'n ou gebied waar die tradisionele gesag òf vervalle òf as ongewens beskou word. In hierdie geval vind geen genealogiese uitbreiding van die vorstehuis plaas nie. Geen vrouens van die regerende *inkosi* word oorgeplant nie. Die stat word oorgegee in die besturende hande van een of meer *izinduna* wat deur die *inkosi* daarvoor aangestel word.

3. Die stigting van die kernstat en dus die ontstaan van 'n nuwe (of hernude) *isigodi* is die gevolg van die territoriaal-administratiewe, sowel as die genealogiese uitbreiding van die gesag van 'n volkshoof—*umnumzana* (*wesifunda*). Die regerende volkshoof stig in 'n bepaalde gebied 'n groot kraal. Vir hierdie doel plant hy uit 'n ander sentrale kraal (en afhanklike krale) 'n seksie van die bevolking en een of meer van sy vrouens, oor na die nuwe kraal. Hy stel, uit 'n aantal nie-aan-hom-verwante gesinne<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Om verwarring te voorkom by die interpretasie van die genealogiese terme wat ek gebruik, die volgende opheldering :

1. *gesin* : Dit bestaan uit man, vrou en nog onselfstandige kinders.  
 2. *samegestelde gesin* : (a) kan wees man met meerdere vrouens en hulle onselfstandige kinders. As die aantal vrouens klein is (2-3) tref mens so'n samegestelde gesin gewoonlik aan binne die *uthango*—omheining—van een kraal. Is die aantal vrouens groter, dan kan hulle verdeel wees oor meerdere krale. (b) Broers met hulle vrouens+onselfstandige kinders wat saam in een kraal woon. (c) lewenskragtige vader met nog sterk gesag+volwasse en getroude seuns, hulle vrouens en klein kinders in een kraal of oor meer as een kraal verdeel.

3. *familietak* : 'n Aantal verwante krale wat van een grootvader of oorgrootvader afstam en wat naby genoeg by mekaar bly om duidelik en



wat hy oorplant, een of meer *izinduna* aan wat toesig sal hou oor daardie stat maar wat mettertyd die erfgename uit die *umnumzana* se vrouens as formele hoof (*umnumzana* (*wesigodi*) oor die *isigodi* sal erken.

4. Dit kan ook gebeur dat 'n *inkosi* of *umnumzana* vir een of meer volwasse seuns of ander verwante 'n derglike kraal bou (—*akhela*) waarby hy 'n bepaalde gebied afskei as *isigodi* beskikkingsgebied, en 'n nie verwante bevolking toevoeg waaroor hulle dan in sy naam die bestuursvoering kan handhaaf (—*phathela*).

Al hierdie vier variante berus op die generale beginsel van *ukuphuma umuzi*—die uitspruiting van krale—(in die genealogiese kraalsplitsing: *ukukhipha amakhanda*—letterlik koppe uithaal), wat ek elders uitvoerig beskrywe het.<sup>4</sup>

Die bevolking van 'n derglike *inzalamuzi* bestaan gewoonlik uit 'n aantal enkel—of samegestelde gesinne van verskillende *izibongo* (familie-name) wat nie verwant is aan die hoof van die groot eenheid nie. (Dit geld sowel vir stigtinge van die Zulu *amakhosi* as vir die van *abanumzana*—volkshoofde).

Die aantal gesinne varieer en hang af van die belangrikheid van die nedersetting, 4—8 nie-onderling-verwante gesinne in die kernkraal is vermoedelik die norm, hoewel segsliede beweer dat daar baie groteres was. Hierdie eerste gesinne wat die oorspronklike bevolking van die *isigodi* sal uitmaak, word *abadabuka* of *abokudabuka* genoem. ("hulle wat oorspronklik weggebreek het, of, wat as 't ware uitgespruit het").

Ooreenkomstig die algemene innerlike struktuur van die Zulu kraal, is ook hierdie *inzalamuzi* verdeel in twee halfselfstandige helftes; die linker (*uhlangothi*, *ikhohlo* of *isibay' esincane*) en die regter (*isibay' esikhulu*) helfte, elk onder hulle eie, aangestelde gesag, egter met dien verstande dat

kragtig die verwantskapsband ensaamhorigheid tussen mekaar te voel maar wat tog reeds 'n selfstandige lewe lei. Dit is meesal so'n familietak wat saamwoon op een aaneengeslote blok familie-(tak) gronde en wat dus ook territoriaal, 'n eenheid (regsgemeenskap) vorm.

4. *familie*: 'n Aantal gesinne, saamgestelde gesinne of familie-takke wat die verwantskap tussen mekaar erken maar wat ôf te ver van mekaar verwyderd bly ôf om ander redes, in werklikheid te weinig saamhorigheid toon om nog as 'n funksionerende regsgemeenskap (wat hulle teoreties is) beskou te word. n' Teoretiese, maar dus geen praktiese eenheid nie.

5. *kraal*: Word net bedoel in sy territoriale betekenis van 'n *uthango* (omheining) waarbinne sig 'n aantal hutte en 'n beeskraal en kalwerkraal bevind. Dit word gewoonlik bewoon deur 'n gesin of 'n samegestelde gesin.

6. *kernkraal (stat)*: 'n Kraal wat 'n bestuursfunksie vervul wat strek buite homself, dus oor 'n *isigodi*, dan genoem *isigodi*-kernkraal of stat), *isiginti* (genoem *isiginti* (dorp) kernkraal) of familietak (familie kernkraal) Partykeer ook genoem sentrale kraal.

die hoof oor die *isibay'* *esikhulu* seksie, mede die gesag het oor die hele kraal.<sup>4</sup>

'n Aantal van die *abadabuka*-gesinne vul dus die *uhlangothi* en die res vorm die bevolking van die *isibay'* *esikhulu*. Indien een of meer vrouens van die regerende hoof aanwesig is, sal ook hulle oor die seksies verdeel word.

Die nuwe kernstat bly onderdeel vorm van die groter eenheid (*isifunda* of *umhlaba*) waaruit dit gespruit het.

Dit blyk uit die gesegde van die hoof van daardie eenheid teen die *induna* van die *inzalamizi*: “*Ngiyakubeka wena bani, ungi qazel' umuzi wami*—ek stel jou aan So-en-So, hou toesig oor my kraal.”

Die posisie van die hoof se vrouens, indien in daardie kraal aanwesig, lig die hoof as volg toe: “*Ngininika amakosikazi ami, niwabeke kahle*”—ek gee vir julle my vrouens, pas hulle mooi op—. Wat beteken dat daar gesorg moet word dat hulle goeie lande kry om te bewerk en dat hulle so nodig gehelp sal word om hulle *inqolobane*—koshutjie—vol te maak, dat hulle naam, persoon en besittings beskerm sal word.

## DIE GEBIED

Die gebied waarin die *inzalamizi* gebou word en wat bedoel is om later haar *isigodi* te vorm, word vaag aangedui. Kunsmatige grensbakens word nie opgerig nie. Riviere, donga's en bergkruine vorm die mees normale begrensing. (Die gebied kan aansienlik groot wees as daar oorvloedig land beskikbaar is. Volgens skatting loop die groottes uiteen van  $\pm 8$  vierkante myl (byvoorbeeld eKufuseni *isigodi*) tot 30 vierkante myl en meer (byvoorbeeld Shumayela *isigodi*).

Dit is twyfelagtig of 'n eenkeer vasgestelde grenslyn permanent sal bestaan.

Die algemene tendens in die grondereg is dat die bevolking (individue, krale, *izigodi* ens.) sy gebied geleidelik uitbrei totdat daar 'n botsing met ander individue of groepe plaasvind. Dan ontstaan 'n regsconflik waarby partye wederkerig mekaar beskuldig van oortreding van ou grense. Eers as gevolg van so 'n konflik word 'n skerp grenslyn vasgestel, of ooreenkomstig getuienis van ou persone wat nog duidelik weet wat 'n halwe eeu en langer gelede deur die *umnumzana* gesê is, of volgens ooreenstemming tussen die partye as derglike verreikende getuienis uit die grys verlede nie meer gegee kan word nie.

<sup>4</sup> Sien vir uitvoerige bespreking van hierdie oorwegende kentrek in die Zulu organisasie my “Twee-eenheidsbeginsel in die Sosiale en Politieke Samelewing van die Zulu.” *Bantu Studies*, Maart, 1940.

Vir seker meen die segsliede te getuig dat daar wel soiets soos 'n floue omlyning van die *isigodi* beskikkingsgebied van die aanvang af gewees het. Skerp omlyn was die afperking egter nie: "Hy (*umnumzana*) het gesê, omtrent tot daar teen die berg, dan tot by die rivier en anderkant die donga." "

Egter ek weet van gevalle waar "teen die berg en anderkant die donga" reeds mense gewoon en gewerk het en wat by 'n ander *isigodi* behoort het. Hulle het die grond "geleen," egter alreeds 'n tiental jare daarop gebly maar solank daar net geen rusie gemaak word nie, kan hulle hul tyd verdubbel en verdriedubbel.

Kom dan 'n regsconflik oor die grond, dan is dit nie onmoontlik dat daar nie meer erken word dat die grond "geleen" was nie.<sup>5</sup>

So is dit miskien juister om te sê dat, hoewel met die stigting van die *inzalamizi* (*yesigodi*) 'n *isigodi* met sekere grenslyne ontstaan, die grens eers definitief vasgestel word nadat die bevolkingsgroepe prakties die hele gebied gevul het, en deur die kontak met ander uitbreidende groepe, (*izigodi*) die verskillende belangesfere dreig om met mekaar in konflik te kom of alreeds met mekaar in konflik gekom het.

Tot sover die buitegrense van die *isigodi*—beskikkingsgebied.

Binne die *isigodi* word hierdie gebied met die loop van jare opgevolg; in die eerste plek deur die *abadabuka*—families wat met die stigting van die *inzalamizi* oorgeplant is.

As die onmiddellike gebied, geleë om die kernkraal, volgebou is, die gesinne gegroei het, die kraal "groot-geword" het, trek die sterkstes van hierdie gesinne of samegestelde gesinne uit om hulle selfstandig in die verskillende dele van die beskikkingsgebied te vestig.

Deur die hoof-*induna* van die *inzalamizi*, met medewete en goedkeuring van die hoof van die groot eenheid (*isifunda* of *umhlaba*) word aan hierdie gesinne 'n deel van die beskikkingsgebied aangewys. Hiermee word die kiem geplant van 'n *nuwe* nedersetting wat 'n redelike kans besit om op sy beurt *inzalamizi* te wees van 'n territoriale eenheid *binne* die *isigodi*.

<sup>5</sup> Die Zulu-grondereg bepaal dat grond slegs vir een jaar (seisoen) in leen gegee word. (in die geval van woeste gronde is dit twee agtereenvolgende seisoene) Vir daardie seisoen het die lener die reg om ongesteurd die grond te ploeg, saai, bewerk en af te oes. Na afloop van die oestyd egter, kan deur die *isigodi* gemeenskap of Bantubesitter, hom die reg ontsê word om verder die grond te bewerk, of andersins vir hom die reg gegee word vir 'n nuwe seisoen. Elkeen egter, wat enigsins intieme kennis dra van die inheemse samelewing, weet dat in die praktyk daar dikwels geen sprake is van uitdruklike verlenging van die leen-termyn.

"Hy het nooit rusie met ons gemaak nie," word gesê, waarin opgesluit lê: waarom sal ons hom steur, hy *sê mos* *nie* *dis sy grond nie*? Talryke gevalle wys egter daarop dat, veral na verloop van lange tyd as die volgende generasie die grond bewerk, daar bittere moeilikhede kan ontstaan.



Dit is m.i. onwaarskynlik dat sulke familie nedersettings op bepaalde, aangewese (en eweseer in die begin vaag omlynde) stukke beskikkingsgebied, reeds van die aanvang af as selfstandige administratiewe eenheidjies beskou mag word.

Seker is egter dat hierdie nedersettings binne die *isigodi* méér be-oog as die blote toekenning van blokke familiegronde waarop die oorgeplante gesinne hulle kan voortplant en uitbrei.

Dit is veeleer die kerne waaromheen hulle in die loop van jare 'n aantal vreemde elemente (enkelinge, gesinne) kom skaar.

Op hierdie manier kry ons 'n *dorpsvorming* binne die *isigodi* waarby die *abadabuka* familie die meer belangrike kern bly waaruit die erflike dorpsgesag gebore en erken word, deur 'n addisionele bevolking van *izikhonzi* (van *khonza*—woonplek soek) wat stuksgewys daarby kom en hulle deel in die dorpsgebied verkry. Op hierdie manier kan daar in 'n *isigodi* van 2 tot 6 kleiner "dorpe" (*iziqinti*) bestaan, geskaar om die *isigodi*-kerndorp, waar hulle verteenwoordig word deur hulle respektiewelike *izinduna*.

Nie altyd egter vind in 'n *isigodi* 'n derglike selfstandigwording van kleiner territoriale eenhede plaas nie. Waar die beskikkingsgebied van 'n *isigodi* klein is, die aantal krale en inwoners te gering is om 'n administratiewe splitsing te regverdig, bly die kernstat van die *isigodi* die enigste administratiewe knooppunt in die *isigodi*. Wêl word die beskikkingsgebied opgevol deur ánder krale as die kernstat. Ook hier kry ons 'n klein aantal oorspronklike *abadabuka* families aan wie hulle familielande aangewys is.

Die individue, gesinne of ander groepe, wat in die loop van later tye lidmaatskap van die *isigodi* verkry het, *khonza* egter by die hoof *induna* of *umnumzana* van die *isigodi* (soos dit uitgedruk word), en nie, soos in die ander gevalle, by die hoofde van die jonger nedersettings (*iziqinti*) nie. Hulle bly dus 'n eenheid om die *isigodi* hoof vorm.

Dit beteken dat daar (nog) geen administratiewe onderverdeling plaasgevind het nie. Die afgeskeie gronde wat deur die families beset is, het familiegronde gebly en nie die kern geword van 'n dorpsbeskikkingsgebied nie.

Voor ek met die verdere bespreking aangaan wil ek die stigting van 'n *isigodi* met 'n paar voorbeelde illustreer.

#### 1. *Shumayela isigodi*.

Hierdie *isigodi* vorm deel van die *isifunda* van Buthelezi in die Mahlabatini distrik. Dit het sy ontstaan te danke aan die stigting van die kernstat Nsokaze, (die *inzalamizi* van die Buthelezi *isifunda*).

Shumayela is gebou deur Nqengelela, die toenmalige groot *induna yomhlaba* (eerste minister) van Shaka. Uit Nsokaze kernstat en *isigodi* wat toentertyd nog direk onderdeel gevorm het van die Zulu *umhlaba*, het Nqengelela 'n aantal van sy vrouens geneem en 'n aantal onderling-nie-verwante gesinne wat hy oor die *uhlangothi* en *isibay' esikhulu* van die nuwe *inzalamizi (yesigodi)* verdeel het. *Esibayen' esikhulu* was ten eerste die vrou wat later die *inkosana* (Mnyamane) van Nqengelela gebaar het. Verder 6 *abadabuka* gesinne of samegestelde gesinne (Sibiya, Zungu, Makhoḥa, Ntuli, Zulu en Ndwandwe). *Ohlangothini* was die vrou wat later die *umnawenkosana*<sup>6</sup> (uMajiya) van Mnyamane gebaar het (dus ook 'n seun van Nqengelela) en twee gesinne (Mambatha en Sithole).

Die hoof-*induna* van die regterseksie (en dus hoof oor die hele kraal) was uGaqa-Zungu. Sy helper of plaasvervanger (*indlebe*—oor, of *isandla*—hand) was Maguju-Ntuli (wat op sy beurt weer 'n *isandla* gehad het n.l. Mhlamane-Makhoḥa. Die *induna* van die linker seksie was Mjuḥane-Mambatha en sy *isandla* was Mashoḥane-Sithole.

Die huidige gesag in die *isigodi* van Shumayela is as volg: Deurdat Tsaneḥezwe; die *inkosana* van Mnyamane as *ikhanda* van sy vader, die kernkraal verlaat het en hoof geword het oor 'n nuwe *isigodi*-kernkraal (Nsabekhuluma) en die *umnawenkosana* (Majiya) uit die *uhlangothi* van Shumayela afgesplits het en ewe-eens 'n *isigodi*-kernkraal gekry net (Ncola) is die huidige verteenwoordigers (*umnumzana wesigodi*) van die regerende Buthelezi familie in die *isigodi* van Shumayela, geen persone wat “*nesibalo*” (d.i. met 'n bepaalde status) is nie. Dit beteken dat (net wat betref die genealogie van die Buthelezi familie) hulle geen bepaalde status besit nie. “*Nesibalo*” is net die *inkosana*, *umnawenkosana*, *ikhohlwa* en *umnawekhohlwa* of die seuns van elkeen van hulle wat 'n derglike posisie in hulle krale bekleed het.

Nou is dit, veral in tye van gebiedsuitbreiding, (soos in die tyd toe Shumayela gestig is) die mees normale gang van sake dat hierdie “*nesibalo*”—seuns van die vader (*amakhandu*=koppe—genoem) die bestuur sal kry oor 'n nuwe gebied. (*isigodi*) Hoe dit geskied, het ek reeds gemeld toe ek die 4 variante van *ukuphuma imizi* gegee het.

In elk geval is dit duidelik, dat ons in daardie *isigodi* wat oorspronklik in hulle kernstat 'n *ikhanda* van die regerende familie

<sup>6</sup> Dit is die tweede “*ikhanda*” (letterlik kop) of seun met 'n aangewese status (*isibalo*) in die kraal. Ewe-as die *inkosana* behoort hy tot die regter kraal-helfte. Vir die linker (*uhlangothi*) helfte vervul die *ikhohlwa* en die *umnawekhohlwa* soortgelyke funksies.

gehad het, teenwoordig nie altyd direkte erfgename (dus *inkosana*, of *inkosana* van *inkosana*) aan die hoof van sake vind nie.

By die Buthelezi *isifunda*, een van die heel weiniges in Zululand waar nog 'n oorgroot deel van die oorspronklike Zulu stamorganisasie bestaan en kragtig leef, is die *abanumzana* van die *izigodi* gewoonlik nie die direkte erfgename van die oorspronklike *abadabuka* kernfamilie (d.i. in hierdie geval dus Buthelezi) nie. Dit is die seuns van mindere vrouens of jongere seuns van die belangrike (*nesibalo*) vrouens wat in die gebied gebly het, wat *umnumzana* van die *isigodi* is. Byvoorbeeld die *isibay' esikhulu umnumzana* van Shumayela was uGingile (tans oorlede) wat "somar" 'n seun uit die Shumayela kraal was. Sy twee seuns het "weggetrek" en sy plek is ingeneem deur uSiyaze, uit die kraal van uGaza, die *uyise wabantu* ("isizinda" hut) van Nsokaze, wat hom in die Shumayela *isigodi* gevestig het. Tiperend vir uSiyaze is dat hy by navraag "*umnumzana-nje*" is, (somar 'n *umnumzana*, uit hoofde van die feit dat hy 'n kraalhoof is wat die naam Buthelezi dra.)

Wat die *uhlangothi* van hierdie *isigodi* betref is die posisie beter vervul. Die "linker" *umnumzana* is uBekizolo, wie se kraal mHongozini, uit die *uhlangothi* van die Shumayela kernkraal gespruit het. Die vader van Bekizolo het in rang direk op die *umnarwenkosana* (uMajiya) van Shumayela gevolg en toe hierdie *ikhanda* afsplits en die kernkraal Ncola vestig, het die vader van Bekizolo sy broer opgevolg in die *uhlangothi* van die *isigodi*.

Wat nou van daardie jonger nedersettings, dorpsvorminge (*iziqinti*), wat binne die *isigodi* uit die kernkraal voorgespruit het?

Ek het gesê dat hierdie staatkundige eenheidjies tot stand gekom het deurdat 'n deel van die *isigodi* beskikkingsgebied vir sekere oorspronklike *abadabuka* families afgeskei is. In die aanvang voorlopig net as *abadabuka* familielande, egter met die bedoeling dat deur eie uitbreiding van daardie familie en deur die geleidelike toestroming van vreemde elemente (*izikhonzi*) daardie gronde die kern sou vorm van 'n dorpsvorming en van 'n dorpsbeskikkingsgebied, waarop elk van die jongere bygekome gesinne of samegestelde gesinne 'n deel as familiegrond kon beset. Die oorspronklike nedersetters (die *abadabuka*) sou egter die kern van hierdie dorpsvorming bly en hulle erfgename (*amakhosana*) sou die erflike dorpsgesag wees en as sodanig ook deur die *izikhonzi* erken word.

Keer ons terug na Shumayela dan sien ons dat hier derglike "dorpe" of *iziqinti* gevorm is.



Aan die *isibay' esikhulu* is dit die *iziqinti* van uSiyaze Buthelezi (*umnumzana*) ; van Zungu, waar nTandu, kleinseun van uGaqa die huidige dorpshef is;<sup>7</sup> van Ntuli waar Mtanyeni, 'n kleinseun van Magaju die huidige dorpshef is ; van Makhoba, waar Mkakheni, kleinseun van Mhlamane tans die hef is. Verder nog 'n *iziqinti* van Mtembu. Aan die *uhlangothi* kry ons slegs twee *iziqinti*. Een daarvan is van Buthelezi (Bekizolo is hier *umnumzana*) en die ander is van Mambatha, waar Mtakathikacolwa, kleinseun van Mjubane, die dorpshef is.

Met uitsondering van Mtembu, is al die teenswoordige dorps- (*iziqinti*) hoofde nie net die direkte erfgename van die oorspronklike *abadabuka* families nie, maar selfs teenswoordig bekleed hulle in die *isigodi* staatkundige bestel dieselfde posisie (ook teenoor mekaar) as wat hulle grootouers in die begin gedoen het. Hulle is almal *izinduna* van Shumayela wat in naam van die Buthelezi *umnumzana* toesig hou oor die *iziqinti* wat deur Shumayela as *inzalamizi* van die *isigodi* "gebaar" is. (Mtembu se *iziqinti* is van later datum as die ander. Egter sy vader was reeds 'n *induna* van die "regter" seksie van Shumayela.)

Elk van hierdie *iziqinti* bevat 20-35 krale wat vir die grootste deel bewoon word deur gesinne wat by die *abadabuka* kom *khonza* het, maar wat egter vir die merendeel alreeds hulle vaste regte op eie familiegronde gevestig het. Die hef van die oorspronklike nedersetters word egter deur hulle vanselfsprekend as dorpshef erken want, "ons vaders het mos hier kom *khonza*. Hy, wat die eerste hier was, het vir ons ons gronde gegee. Hy is ons *baba*—vader—, hy is *umninindawo*—"besitter" van die grond, ons kan nie met hom stry nie, hy is groot hier, ons is sy kinders."

## 2. *Nqobatha isigodi*.

Hier is 'n voorbeeld van 'n *isigodi* wat uit die vorstesfeer ontstaan het (deur Dingane gestig) maar waar aan die nuwe kernstat, Nqobatha, geen koninklike vrouens toegevoeg is nie. Daar word gesê dat Nqobatha "vir Ncuswa-Mzuza, 'n *induna* van Dingane gebou is" wat waarskynlik net wil sê dat die *inkosi* in daardie gebied 'n stat laat bou het, waar hy Mzuza as *induna* neergesit het om toesig te hou.

Tans nog is daardie gebied een van die *isigodi* wat aan die *isifunda* van een van die Zulu-takke behoort. (Mnyaiza is die *umntwana*—prinselike hef daarvan).

<sup>7</sup> Dit is nie heeltemal juis nie. Die werklike posisie is dat Ntandu nog "te klein" is om as *induna* op te tree. Op die oomblik *phathela* (waarneem) uSontombi-Thombela vir hom.

In die nuwe kernstat, (*inzalamizi*) Nqobatha was Mzuza die ver naamste *abadafuka*—familie. Daar was egter nog drie ander oorspronklike gesinne wat saam oorgeplant is n.l. Dumisa, Xhulu en Mkwanyane.

Omtrent een generasie later het uit die *uhlangothi* van Nqobatha, 'n deel van die mense afgesplits en onder leiding van Masongane die *umnawenkosana* van Nqobatha (seun van Ncuswa) 'n aparte neder setting binne die *isigodi* beskikkingsgebied gevorm. Dit was die kraal Wasabela, die kern van die latere *uhlangothi* seksie van die *isigodi* ('n *iziqinti*).

Buite Mzuza, was daar nog 'n oorspronklike gesin in hierdie deel van die *isigodi*, nl. Nxumalo.

Later het uit die *isibay' esikhulu* van Nqobatha die *inkosana*—kraal Mhlakanhlaka gekom (*-phuma*) wat tans nog die hoofkraal van die *isigodi* is. (Die werklike Nqobatha-kraal is lankal verlaat en slegs die naam lewe nog en word aan die hele *isigodi* gegee). Hier bly Ndaßazewe-Mzuza, die teenswoordige *umnumzana*. As linker *ikhanda* van Nqobatha het die *ikhohlwa*-kraal Wasofeni uitgekom, wat binne die *isibay' esikhulu* seksie van die *isigodi*, die hoofkraal is van die linker (*uhlangothi*) seksie.

Die besturende kernfamilie (Mzuza) van die *isigodi* is dus in die eerste plek in twee takke verdeel, n.l. die *uhlangothi* (Wasabela) en die *isibay' esikhulu* (Nqobatha). Later is alleen *isibay' esikhulu* weer in twee verdeel n.l. die *uhlangothi* (Wasofeni) en die *isibay' esikhulu* (Mhlakanhlaka).<sup>8</sup>

Ons kry dus drie erflike hoofde van die familietakke van Mzuza n.l. Ndaßazewe van die Mhlakanhlaka kraal (*umnumzana wesigodi*), Maphuzwana, die kleinseun van die *ikhohlwa* uit Nqobatha, in die Wasofeni kraal en uGqophi wat waarneem—*phathela*—vir Nkulu-nkulu, kleinseun van Masongane, (wat as *umnawenkosana* uit die *uhlangothi* van Nqobatha afgesplits het.)

Elk van die familietakke waarvan hierdie drie genoemde persone tans die hoofde is, het die kerne geword van aparte dorpsvormings (*iziqinti*) binne die *isigodi*, waaromheen in die loop van tye ander gesinne en samegestelde gesinne van *izikhonzi* hulle gevoeg het.

<sup>8</sup> Ek gee hier net daardie *amakhanda* krale van Mzuza wat die kerne geword het van die teenswoordige *iziqinti*. In werklikheid het daar baie meer krale uitgekom maar hulle is nie van belang by hierdie bespreking nie. Wêl sal hulle later meegetel word as ek die totaal aantal krale oor die *izigodi* gee.

Eweas Nqobatha as kraal vervang is deur die *inkosana*-kraal Mhlakanhlaka, is Wasabela ook reeds lankal verlaat en het plek moet maak vir sy *inkosana*-kraal Ezinqanto, wat op sy beurt weer vir sy *inkosana*-kraal Mtukavuzwa vervang is. Dit is tans die "lewende" kernkraal van die ou Wasabela *iziqinti*.

Van die ander oorspronklike (*abadabuka*) families, Dumisa, Xhulu, Mkwanyane en Nxumalo, het net Xhulu die middelpunt van 'n aparte dorpsvorming geword.

Dumisa het 'n *isiginti* gehad, maar is verdruk deur die uitbreiding van Nongoma. Tans lê die krale van Dumisa in 'n lang lyn versprei oor die *isigodi*, sonder hulle ou familiegronde, sonder *isiginti*. Mkwanyane en Nxumalo het miskien vroeër uitgegroeï, tans is hulle krale gering in aantal en kon ek nie ontdek dat hulle nog die kerne van 'n eie *isiginti* is nie.

Daar is dus een *isiginti* (van Mzuza) in die *uhlangothi* van die isigodi n.l. dié waarvan Wasabela die "*inzalamizi*" was. Hier lê 5 Mzuza krale en 22 krale van ander gesinne en samegestelde gesinne, die draers van tesame 9 *izibongo* (familiename).

Aan die *isibay'* *esikhulu* lê twee Mzuza *isiginti* (Mhlakanhlaka elk met 'n kern van 9 Mzuza krale) en een Xhulu-*isiginti* (Kahla) met 'n kern van 10 Xhulu krale. Elkeen van hierdie laasgenoemde drie *isiginti* het 'n nie-verwante aanhang van 16-18 krale wat gemiddeld 7 verskillende *izibongo* verteenwoordig.

Dit totaal aantal krale in die hele *isigodi* is omtrent 100, en verteenwoordig 32 verskillende *izibongo*. Dit is moeilik om die grootte van die beskikkingsgebied op die oog te skat, maar ek dink dit sal tussen 8-12 vierkante myl wees en die gebied word as digbevoond beskou.

### 3. *Nsokaze isigodi*.

Uit die Nqobatha-geval blyk dat nie al die oorspronklike families die kerne van 'n aparte dorpsvorming word nie. Sterker voorbeeld hiervoor is nog die *isigodi* van Nsokaze (die *inzalamizi* van die Buthelezi *isifunda*.)

Aan hierdie kraal het die Zulu *inkosi* (Shaka) oorspronklik 13 onderling nie-verwante gesinne toegevoeg onder *indunaskap* van Nqengelela-Buthelezi.

Hiervan het slegs twee (Tshangaza en Khumalo) dorps hoofde van vandag erkende *isiginti* geword.

Weliswaar was daar andere gevees (byvoorbeeld Ngobese, en Qwabe aan die *isibay'* *esikhulu* en SiBiya en Ntuli aan die *uhlangothi*) wat, deur die feit dat uit daardie families die oorspronklike *izinduna* van Nsokaze benoem is, bedoel gevees het om hoofde van aparte *isiginti* binne die *isigodi* te word. Egter ôf die gebrek aan lewenskrag van daardie families, ôf die gebrek aan voldoende *izikhonzi* in daardie gebiede, het hulle verhinder om "dorpsvaders" te wees ("*baba*,"



“*umnikazi wesiqinti*,” “*umninindawo*.”) Hierdie persone word egter nog wel as *izinduna* van die *isigodi* erken.

Dit dui aan dat ’n *isiginti*hoof nie noodsaaklik ’n *induna* hoef te wees nie, nóg dat *izinduna zezigodi* noodwendig dorps hoofde oor aparte *iziqinti* moet wees nie. In die merendeel van die gevalle wat aan my bekend is, het hierdie twee funksies egter saamgeval.

4. Vergelyk hierby ’n *isigodi* van die Nxumalo *isifunda* in die U6ombo distrik (sien staat F.) Ndabambi-Nxumalo is die hoof hiervan en buite die heersende kernfamilie, (8 krale) is hier ’n paar ander *abadabuka* families (o.a. Mbuyase en Manzi), en ’n addisionele bevolking van 27 ander krale, wat verteenwoordigend is vir 17 nie-verwante *izibongo* (familietakke).

Die *isigodi* is (volgens my skatting) omtrent 25 vierkante myle groot, ken egter geen aparte dorpsvorming binne haar gebied nie, selfs nie eers ’n verdeling in *ughlangothi* en *isiBay’ esikhulu* nie. Om bepaalde redes (sien ook noot 9), o.a. armoede van land en skaarste van bevolking het geen her-groepering van die bevolking om ’n kern van oorspronklike of invloedryke familietakke plaasgevind nie. Wel was daar ’n aanduiding in die rigting deurdat verskillende krale nog offisieel by een of ander familietak kom *khonza* het. Hierdie ontwikkeling het egter doodgeloop, daar was geen noodsaak van *ukukhonza* meer nie, die land was oop, die bevolking gering, elke kraal het sy eie lande uitgesoek en in mindere of meerdere isolasie van die ander bestaan. Die *isigodi* het hier dus die enigste vorm van volksordening gebly.

### ISIQINTI<sup>9</sup>

Diegene wat, soos ekself, deur die woord “dorp” of “nedersetting” die verwagting gekoester het dat hierdie eenhede ook *uiterlik* kenbaar sou

<sup>9</sup>Daar dit nie aan my bekend is dat in die literatuur die term *isiginti* as die aanduiding van ’n dorps eenheid of aparte nedersetting gebruiklik is nie, hieroor die volgende opmerkings:

Ook ek het eers op ’n gevorderde stadium van my veldwerk hierdie betekenis van die woord “ontdek.” (Waarom is dit so moeilik om juis die vir die naturel mees algemene begrippe uit te vind?) My studie oor die grondereg het die noodsaaklikheid van ’n tussen-eenheid tussen *isigodi* en kraal na vore gebring. Daar het hulle regstoestande voorgedoen wat nie deur die *isigodi* gemeenskapsreg nóg deur die Bantu-besitreg van die familietak of kraal verklaar kon word nie. Die doelbewuste ondersoek wat toe gevolg het, het die *isiginti* as territoriale dorps eenheid openbaar. Dit het gebeur by Ceza in die Mahlabatini distrik waar, deur omstandighede (waaroor later) die *izigodi* en *isifunda* as organiese eenhede hulle betekenis verloor het en die “dorps eenheid” sterker op die voorgrond gebring het.

By verifiëring van hierdie uitkomst het ek gevind dat, ten minste in die distrikte wat ek besoek het (Mahlabatini, Nongoma en Nkandla) hierdie term in dié betekenis bekend was en dat die aldus omskrewe eenhede ’n

wees, word teleurgestel. Ewemin as 'n *isifunda* of 'n *isigodi* met die oog "herkenbaar" is, ewemin wys die verspreid-liggende krale teen die berghellings of in die dale van Zululand *uiterlik* op enige organiese of territoriale saamhorigheid.

Daar is geen nouer sametrekking van apartgeboude krale nie, nòg enige kentekens of bakens wat sonder voorligting as die grense van die dorpsgebied geken kan word nie.

Die enigste waarneembare feit wat 'n belangesfeer groter as van een kraal laat vermoed, is partykeer 'n aaneengeslote blok bewerkte lande (*umlimela*), groter as wat een gesin of samegestelde gesin kan behartig.

'n Nadere bespreking van die *interne* band wat die dorpseenheid karakteriseer, is dus allersins geregverdig.

'n Sensus van 'n aantal verskillende *isiginti* volg hieronder :

1. *ekuBuseni* : (Nongoma distrik) (Sien staat A).

Die *inzalamizi* van hierdie *isigodi* (kuBusa) was 'n *umuzi wenkosi*—koningstat—wat uit die groot sentrale stat Gqikazi gekom het. Oorspronklik is die stat "gebou vir" (*-akhela*) 'n paar vrouens van Dabulamanzi (,) die groot Zulu prins. Tans is die Zulu-element maar swak in die *isigodi*, die kern-familie is die van Mnguni, van die oorspronklike *induna yasezibay' esikhulu* van kuBusa.

Hierdie klein *isigodi* ken geen aparte dorpsvorming nie; d.w.s. hier is die *isigodi* die *isiginti* of soos dit in hulle mond uitgedruk word "Al die mense het kom *khonza* by die *umnumzana*" (Mnguni), hulle *khonza*

vername rol in die inheemse staatkundige organisasie gespeel het. In die uBombo distrik (aan die kus by Mseleni) het die bevolking hierdie betekenis van die term geken maar die eenheid self was nie te vinde nie. Die verklaring was : "Ons weet ons vader het so gemaak, maar ons gaan te veel dood in hierdie land. Ons kom net uit *phuma imizi*, ons bou net ons krale waar ons wil, die land is groot, daar is min mense. Waarom sal ons by so-en-so gaan *khonza* as ons self ons grond kan uitsoek?" En die wydheid van die armlike land en die skrale verspreiding van die verwaarloosde krale, het die juistheid van hierdie opmerking bevestig.

'n Voortvarende jonge gees wat buite die grense van Zululand gewees het, het wys geknik en gesê : "*Kunjalo, isiqinti idolopo, ngiyaz' iFleti, kulingana*—So is dit, die *isiqinti* is 'n dorp, ek ken Vyrheid, dis maar dieselfde." Waarop 'n ander, wat in Johannesburg gewees het, ann toegevoeg het ; "Die *isigodi* is soos Johannesburg. Maar daar is Parktown, Orange Grove, Orlando en ander wat ek gesien het. Dit is die *isiginti* van Johannesburg."

Ander betekenis van die woord *isiginti* is o.a. :

1. daardie deel van 'n toegekende bouländjie wat nog nie geploe is nie.
2. 'n gras-sooi (ook genoem *isidindi*).
3. bossie kophare wat oorbly as die res van die kop kaalgeskeer is.
4. die sogenaamde "bank" d.i. deel van die voor waar die ploeg oor gegly het sonder om diep in te gaan.

Al hierdie betekenis wys daarop dat die woord iets omskryf wat uitstaan bo of afgeskei is van die res.

by die *isibay' esikhulu*—*bayakhonza esibayen' esikhulu*." Die oorspronklike *induna yasehlangothi* was Zungu, watter familietak tans drie bymekaar liggende krale het wat die enigste bevolking van die *uhlangothi* van die *isigothi* uitmaak. Daar is drie Mnguni-kraale wat naby mekaar gebou is teen die helling van 'n berg. Hierdie twee familietakke is (met 2 krale van Zulu), die *abadabuka* van ekuBuseni.

Die res van die bevolking wat die *isiqinti* uitmaak bestaan uit 5 krale (3 *izibongo*) wat tesaam uit die *umuzi wenkosi* Phisendlini gekom en by Mnguni kom *khonza* het.

Verder 14 krale oor 11 *izibongo*.

Dit gee 'n totaal van 26 krale, verteenwoordigend vir 16 verskillende *izibongo*. Die krale lê verspreid oor 'n gebied van omtrent 6 vierkante myl. Die familietakke wat 2 of 3 krale besit, het hulle krale nabymekaar gebou en kan ook met die oog as bymekaar behorend herken word.

2. Tans drie *isiqinti* in 'n gebied (Mahlabatini distrik) wat voorheen 'n *isigodi* (*inzalamizi* eDungeni) van die *isifunda* van die Gazini seksie van die Zulu huis was. Hierdie gebied is egter, met brokstukke van ander *izifunda* (van Buthelezi en Zulu), saamgevoeg onder die hoofmanskap van Shiŋilika, voorheen 'n natuurlike poliesman uit Nongoma. In hierdie gebied is die lewende oorspronklike struktuur van *isigodi* en *isifunda* prakties nie meer aanwesig nie. Egter die oorspronklike *isiqinti* is ook tans nog van groot praktiese belang. Aan die hoof van elk van hierdie *isiqinti* staan 'n Zulu *umntwana*—prins. Hierdie *abantwana* is hoofde van onderlinge verwante familietakke wat afkomstig is uit die *inzalamizi* van die *isigodi* (eDungeni).

a. *isiqinti* van Makhehla-Zulu (sien staat B). Hier is 'n kern van 12 Zulu krale met 'n addisionele bevolking van 24 krale vir 16 *izibongo*. Dit gee 'n totaal van 36 krale, verteenwoordigend vir 17 verskillende nie-verwante *izibongo*. Op hierdie *isiqinti* bly verder nog 11 krale van 7 nie-verwante *izibongo* wat gereken word as nie-behorende by Makhehla se *isiqinti*. Hierdie krale behoort eintlik by die *isigodi* Ezembeni (Usuthu seksie van die Zuluhuis), maar het binnekant hierdie gebied geval toe die Administrasie die gebied aan Shiŋilika oorgedra het.

b. *isiqinti* van uThomu-Zulu (Sien staat C). Hier is 'n kern van 14 Zulu krale en 'n addisionele bevolking van 21 krale oor 9 *izibongo*.

c. *isiqinti* van umLogodwa-Zulu (Sien staat D). Hier is 'n kern van 6 Zulu krale en 'n addisionele bevolking van 24 krale vir 8 *izibongo* (hieronder 10 Khumalo krale, wat vóór die vestiging van die Zulu gesag in daardie gebied die *abadabuka* familie was).

3. As aanvulling mag 'n *isiqinti* van 'n "moderne" aard hierby gegee word. Dit is Ethalaneni, 'n *isiqinti* van die oorspronklike Skakane



*isifunda* in die Nkandhla distrik. Hierdie *abadabuka* het egter geen gesag meer nie, daar na die oorlog tussen Dinizulu en uSibebu hierdie *isifunda* deur die Administrasie opgesny en verdeel is onder (hoofsaaklik) twee nuwe hoofde (wat nie tot die gebied behoort het nie), Phungose en Khanyile. Die sending het verder kragtige invloed gehad en een van die oorspronklike Skakane *iziqinti* (Ethalaneni) het tans 'n uitsluitlik Christelike bevolking onder 'n Christen *induna*.

Die sensus van hierdie groot dorp lewer 'n totaal van 99 krale, verteenwoordigend vir 47 verskillende *izibongo*. Hierby moet opgemerk word dat baie van hierdie krale nie krale volgens die gewone tipe is nie, maar partykeer slegs uit een hut of 'n reghoekige huis bestaan.

Egter wêl belangrik is die groot aantal gesinne wat hier op een *isiqinti* saambly, onder een *induna* wat die belange van die gemeenskap by die hoof (*umnumzana*) van die "*isifunda*" behartig. (Die gebied waaroor Khanyile, die teenswoordige hoofman aangestel is, word gemakshalwe *isifunda* genoem, maar van 'n oorspronklike—genealogiese—*isifunda*-struktuur is prakties niks te vinde nie).

In 'n oorspronklike Zulu-samelewing sou 'n derglike aantal gesinne lankal tot opsplitsing en afskeiding van 'n deel van die bevolking aanleiding gegee het. Egter, waarskynlik die aanwesigheid van die sendingstasie en—hoe paradoksaal dit ook mag klink—die groter individualisme onder die Christenbevolking maak dat die territoriale eenheid bewaar is. Die organiese verbondenheid wat oorspronklik vernaamlik die gevolg was van die feit dat die gesinne almal by een bepaalde *umninindawo* *ge-khonza* het, het plek gemaak vir 'n gebondenheid uit hoofde van lidmaatskap aan 'n bepaalde kerk. Die behoefte aan 'n tradisionele grondslag (wat by so 'n groot bevolking onvermydelik die vorming en latere afsplitsing van kleiner groepe as gevolg sou hê) word hier blykbaar nie gevoel nie. Elke gesin is selfstandig, en besit sy eie grond. Die behoefte aan 'n orgaan (mondstuk) word vernaamlik gevoel as die gemeenskap na buite verteenwoordig moet word. Hiervoor is een *induna* voldoende. Innerlike geskille word veelal onder mekaar of in die kerk geskik. Openlike regsgeskille gaan na die magistraat.

### DIE SOSIALE EENHEID

Ek glo nie dat daar een oorheersende rede gegee kan word waarom 'n *isiqinti* tot stand kom nie. Vir sover ek kon nagaan was dit òf oorbevolking naby die kernkraal (*inzalamizi*) òf 'n drang na meerdere selfstandigheid van 'n bepaalde famielietak, miskien gedryf deur die behoefte aan 'n blok eie familiegronde.

Hierdie redes bring egter op hulle self nog geen strukturele afsplitsing te weeg nie. Aan die gevalle EkuBuseni (Nongoma distrik) en mSeleni

(uBombo distrik) kan gesien word dat deur die vestiging van 'n familie-besitreg op 'n deel van die *isigodi* distrik, nie noodwendig 'n dorpsvorming (*isiginti*) tot stand kom nie.

Dit gebeur eers as daar 'n voldoende addisionele bevolking van *izikhonzi* by derglike afgeskeie familietakke kom, meesal gepaard gaande met die aanstelling van die hoof van derglike *isiginti*-kernfamilie as *induna*, verteenwoordiger van die dorpsgemeenskap by die kernkraal van die *isigodi*. Die nedersetting moet dus by die bevolking as in afsonderlike strukturele eenheid erken word, wil dit 'n *isiginti* (dorp) wees. Hierdie erkenning nie alleen in die oë van die bevolking van die nedersetting self maar ook in die oë van die res van die *isigodi* bevolking. Die hoof van die *isiginti* moet dus 'n gesag hê wat binne en buite die nedersetting erken word. Hoe word nou in die praktyk 'n derglike gesag gevestig? Die antwoord lê vernaamlik in die toekenning van gronde aan die gesinne of samegestelde gesinne wat kom *khonza*.

'n Man B kom met sy gesin plek vra by A, die hoof van 'n oorspronklike familie wat in 'n oop deel van die *isigodi* sy blok familiegronde gekry het. A is gewillig om B en sy gesin op te neem maar A is ondergeskik aan die *isigodi*-hoof (wat vir hom sy lande aangewys het; dis 'n belangrike feit. Gevolglik neem A sy *isikhonzi* na die *umnumzana isigodi*. Hierdie hoof gee dan vir A toestemming om B te neem ("mkhombise indawo yakhe—wys hom sy land aan.")

Die feit dat dit A is (en nie die *isigodi*-hoof) wat vir B sy land aanwys, het 'n groot betekenis in die toekomstige berhouding tussen A en B. A het hom oor B ontferm. Hy is vir B 'n "*baŋa*"—vader. Hy het vir B woon—en ploeggrond (*indawo yokwakha* of *inxiswa*, en *indawo yokulima* aangewys. Gevolglik is A in die oë van B die *umninindawo*—besitter van die grond. Wat is natuurliker as dat B in die vervolg met sy moeilikhede na A gaan; vir hom nuwe grond vra as hy dit, nodig het en sy regsadvies aanneem as hy in konflik kom met die belange van ander individue of groepe in die *isigodi*?

Ander *izikhonzi* voeg hulle onder A. Steeds erken A die hoër gesag en sy afhanklikheid van die *isigodi*-hoof. Maar vir hulle aan wie hy grond aanwys en huisvesting verleen, is A die erkende, onmiddellike gesagspersoon. As sodanig word hy egter ook erken deur die *isigodi* en *isifunda umnumzana* in wie se naam hy toesig hou—*phathela*—oor die klein gebied.

Solank die nuwe gemeenskap nie te groot word nie (uit die sensus van verskillende *isiginti* blyk dat 'n volgroeiende *isiginti*  $\pm 35$  krale sterk is), die geografiese gesteldheid van die gebied 'n territoriale eenheid in die hand werk, en die gesag van die dorpshef gewilliglik aanvaar bly, sal die

*isiqinti* een saamhorige gemeenskap bly. 'n Verdeling van die *isiqinti* in *uhlangothi* en *isibay' esikhulu* word dan ook nog nie aangetref nie. Almal " *khonza* " immers by die dorpshef en nie by 'n ander nie ?

Maar daar is gevalle waar daar wêl 'n verdeling in twee seksies uit 'n oorspronklik homogene gemeenskap optree. Die splitsing kan begin in die kernfamilie self : 'n Vader wat 'n " boedel splitsing " tussen twee van sy seuns maak. Die *inkosana* kry die grootste deel van die familielande, 'n ander (byvoorbeeld die *ikhohlwa*) die res. Al twee familie (tak) hoofde probeer hulle om hulle gesag uit te brei. Die *izikhonzi* wat nog plek wil hê, kies tussen hierdie twee. Elkeen plaas sy *izikhonzi* naby daardie deel van die familiegrond waarop hy 'n reg het. So kom territoriaal en sosiaal 'n verdeling tot stand. Nog altyd is dit een *isiqinti* ; die Zulu hou nie van volkome breuke in die samelewing as dit nie nodig is nie.

Maar indien daar 'n volkome afskeiding plaasvind, daardie behoefte onder die bevolking bestaan, en daar is nog 'n gebied waar hulle as afsonderlike eenheid kan ontwikkel, dan sal die gemeenskap opbreek langs die skeidslyn tussen *uhlangothi* en *isibay' esikhulu* soos dit sy oorsprong gehad het by die splitsing in die kernfamilie.

'n Derglike afskeiding sôu kan optree in die *isiqinti* van Makhehla-Zulu (sien staat B) waar, hoewel daar gesê word dat dit nog een *isiqinti* is, die bevolking alreeds in *uhlangothi* en *isibay' esikhulu* verdeel is tussen twee seksies van daardie Zulu-familietak.

Egter nie altyd hoef die breuk te begin in die kernfamilie nie. In die distrik Nongoma, in die reeds genoemde *isigodi* van Nqobatha doen hom op die oomblik 'n *isiqinti* splitsing voor wat gebaseer is op 'n geheel ander rede.

In die *uhlangothi* van die *isigodi* (die *isiqinti* wat gevorm is om die kernkraal Wasabela), waar uGqophi-Mzuza die hoof is van die *uhlangothi* van die Mzuza kernfamilietak, het in Cetshwayo se tyd die samegestelde gesin (3 krale) van Mambatha 'n plek gekry. Daardie krale het hulle oneweredig met die groei van die Mzuza krale uitgebrei en tel tans 12 stuks onder 'n kragtige familiehoof. Die uitbreiding van grond, wat noodwendig met hierdie groei van die Mambatha-familietak saamgegaan het, het hom voltrek ten koste van die beskikkingsgebied van die Wasabela *isiqinti* waarop Mzuza as kernfamilie in die eerste plek gesag oor gehad het.

Mambatha het, op grond van sy bewering dat hy nooit by Mzuza ge-*khonza* het nie, maar " aan die hand van Cetshwayo gegaan het " wat hom sogenaamd self die familiegrond aangewys het, misbruik gemaak van sy redelike uitbreidingsreg wat aan elke bantubesitter van die grond toekom.



Hy het nie alleen sy gronde uitgebrei tot die limiete van die Wasabela beskikkingsgebied nie (die *uhlangothi lwesigodi*) maar hy het hierdie grense ('n riviértjie) oorskry en sy uitbreiding voortgesit op die res van die *isigodi* beskikkingsgebied wat aan die *isihay' esikhulu* (Nqobatha) behoort het.

Sonder genoegsame erkenning van sy onmiddellike hoof (die Mzuza van Wasabela) het hy grond toegeken aan lede van sy eie familietak en aan 'n aantal nie-verwante gesinne wat by hom kom *khonza* het. Die oorspronklike bevolking van die *isigodi* het geprotesteer, maar Mambatha was deur huwelik verwant met Mnyaiza, die *umntwana* (prins-hoof) van die *isifunda* waartoe Nqobatha behoort. En gehelp deur die bluf van sy sterk persoonlikheid en deur 'n ligte korrupsie van die kant van Mnyaiza, het Mambatha totnogtoe in sy pogings tot selfstandigwording geslaag. Hoewel nog nie erken deur die res van die bevolking van die *isigodi* (wat 'n heimelike vrees vir hom het), beskou Mambatha homself as losstaande van Wasabela. En gesien die swakke karakter en die *laissez faire, laissez aller*—gees van die Mzuza hoofde, is dit glad nie uitgeslote waarom die bevolking die *feitlike* toestand met verloop van jare nie as die *regtelike* een sal erken nie. Dan sal hulle dus praat oor die "*isiqinti* van Mambatha."

Daar is nog 'n ander manier waarop 'n *isiqinti* kan ontstaan. Dit het voorgekom dat 'n vreemde bevolkingsgroep (verwante en nieverwante gesinne) hulle *en masse* onder die beskerming van 'n *isigodi*-hoof geplaas het. Met toestemming van die *isifunda*-hoof (dit is immers 'n saak van groot belang) is aan hulle 'n eie grondgebied afgestaan onder *induna*-skap van die hoof wat hierdie *izikhonzi* self erken het. Persoonlik dra ek geen kennis van sulke gemeenskappe nie maar die informante het van 'n aantal geweet en daar is geen rede om aan te neem waarom hierdie *iziqinti* nie aan dieselfde reëls gehoorsaam as die ander nie.

Wél het in die *isigodi* van Nsokaze (Buthelezi) 'n deel van die bevolking van Nsabeekhuluma (*ikhanda*-stat uit Shumayela) teruggekeer nadat hulle gebied deur blankes beset is. In die Nsokaze *isigodi* vorm hulle tans twee *iziqinti* van dieselfde sosiale en territoriale struktuur as wat ek reeds beskrywe het. 'n "Vreemde" bevolking kan hulle egter nie genoem word nie daar dit gesinne van die heersersfamilie—Buthelezi—was wat met hulle aanhang van nie-verwante gesinne teruggekeer het na die *inzalamizi* van die *isifunda*.

## DIE TERRITORIALE STRUKTUUR

Soos reeds meermale gesê vorm die *isiqinti* 'n afgeskeie deel van die *isigodi* beskikkingsgebied.

Wat kan opgemerk word aangaande die verdeling van gronde tans behorende tot die *isiqinti* beskikkingsgebied?

Om te begin met die grond van die kernfamilie, die *abadabuka* van die *isiginti*

In die begin was die grondkwestie onbelangrik, in soverre dat daaroor geen belangegekkele kon ontstaan nie. Daar was land genoeg, die stigtersfamilie het hier en daar 'n greep gedoen, sy krale gebou en verskuif, lande ontgin, bewerk, en verlaat as hulle betere in die nabye omtrek kon vind. Hulle was die *amehlo*—oë—van die *isigodi*-hoof in daardie streke, dus redelik selfstandig en die feitlike toestand was dat hulle hulself as die bantubesitters van die grond beskou het; die grond was familiegrond.

In hierdie toestand het verandering gekom met die instroming van *izikhonzi*.

Aan enkelvoudige gesinne (man, vrou en afhanklike kinders) wat toevlug gesoek het, moes grond gegee word. Tiperend is die segswyse dat hierdie klein liede, “nie vir die grond (*inhlabathi*) maar vir die kos (*ukudla*) ge-*khonza* het.” D.w.s. hulle was min vermoënde, veelal armlike gesinne, en dit was 'n vanselfsprekende tegemoetkoming om aan hulle 'n reeds bewerkte *ifusi* (braakland) of 'n *inxiba elidala* (ou woonplek, waar die grond dus vrugbaar is deur die mis uit die beeskraal) te gee waarop hulle van die aanvang af 'n redelike hoop op 'n suksesvolle oes sou hê. Daar hierdie toegedeelde grond dus werklik as deel beskou is van die familie-besit van die stigtersfamilie, kan nie gesê word dat die *isikhonzi* kraal hier op onmiddellik 'n selfstandige bantu-besitreg verkry het nie. Dit was voorlopig nog 'n gebruiksreg, wat alle kwaliteite van 'n besitreg bevat het, egter net solank as wat die gesin daarvan daadwerklik gebruikgemaak het. Die posisie van hierdie grond was dieselfde as van die grond wat aan die afsonderlike gesinne van die stigtersfamilie afgestaan is. Dit het nog steeds deel bly vorm van die familiegrond waarop die familie (tak) 'n bantu-besitreg behou het, (want indien hierdie gronde verlaat word, val hulle terug in die bantu-besit van die kernfamilietak). Slegs na verloop van jare, as uit die verblyfshouding van die *isikhonzi* blyk (deur o.a. die intensiteit waarmee hy sy grond bewerk of die manier waarop hy sy kraal bou en uitbrei) dat hy hom permanent op die *isiginti* gevestig het, kan daardie stuk grond met die uitbreiding wat hy regtelik (d.i. met die toestemming van die *isiginti*-hoof) verwerf, die bantu-besit van sy (by hierdie tyd samegestelde) gesin word. Vir hierdie oorgang in regstoestand is egter geen vaste tydstop te gee nie. Elke geval word op homself beskou en met sy eie maatstawwe gemeet. “Op gegewe oomblik” is die grond as bantu-besit van die hande van een familietak, in die ander familietak (samegestelde gesin) oorgegaan. Dit beteken, dat indien hierdie grond daarna tóg prysgegee word, dit nie terugval tot die bantu-besit van die vorige besitters nie, maar deel word van die beskikingsgebied van die *isigodi* onder die onbelemmerde gemeenskapsreg.

Egter nie alle *izikhonzi* word so behandel nie. Kom daar 'n *isikhonzi*, die hoof van 'n samegestelde gesin, 'n man met drie of vier vrouens en volwasse seuns en dogters, is die posisie geheel anders. Dit is belangrike mense, wat instaat is om van die aanvang af, drie of vier krale te vestig, mense wat met meer respek en toegewendheid behandel moet word.

Die *isiginti*-hoof sou ernstig afbreuk doen aan sy eie welvaart as hy so 'n *isikhonzi* 'n deel van sy reeds bewerkte grond sou afstaan. Aan hulle wys hy dus (met medewete van die ander dorpshefde in die *isigodi* en met toestemming van die *isigodi*-hoof) 'n stuk grond aan wat "naby" sy grond lê; d.w.s. nog geleë op die gebied of natuurlike uitbreidingsgebied van die *isiginti*, maar ver genoeg verwyder van sy eie familiegrond om 'n redelike uitbreiding van albei familietakke toe te laat sonder dat in die toekoms die twee belange-sfere met mekaar in konflik sal kom. Sulke gronde as wat aan belangrike *izikhonzi* aangewys word, ('n berghelling byvoorbeeld) vorm meesal in hulle geografiese ligging reeds 'n eenheid.

Die samegestelde gesin is in sy aard minder mobiel as 'n enkelvoudige gesin. Daar bestaan 'n redelike verwagting dat hierdie soort *izikhonzi* hulle permanent sal vestig. Gevolglik is die reg wat hulle van die aanvang af op die toegewese grond vestig "swaarder" (*itshe kakhulu*) as die reg wat 'n enkelvoudige gesin op 'n deel van die *abadabuka* familiegrond kan vestig. Daar is geen beswaar om hierdie gevestigde reg 'n bantu-besitreg te noem en die grond, familie-grond<sup>10</sup> nie. Op hierdie manier groepeer hulle om die grond van die kernfamilie, 'n aantal ander familiegronde.

### BEGRENSING

Die oorspronklike familie, wat homself in die begin (voorbarig) as bantubesitters van die hele *isiginti* beskou het (wie sou dit in die begin betwis het?) en oor 'n onnodige uitgestrektheid gebou en gekultiveer het, staan later die onnodige uithoeke van sy oorspronklike besetting af aan ander krale en konsolideer die kern van sy familie-grondbesit. Daar het nou kompetisie gekom, die *isiginti* besikikkingsgebied word volgebou, die oorspronklik feitlik grenslose besittings van die uitbreidende familie krale nader mekaar. En as daar gevaar bestaan dat die verskillende belangessfere met mekaar sal bots (of reeds gebots het), ontstaan daar grense. Gewoonlik is dit smal stroke onbewerkte grond tussen die lande wat oopgelaat word ('n "negatiewe" grens). Partykeer is dit egter nodig

<sup>10</sup> Die toekenning van 'n eie blok familiegronde soos hier beskrywe kan ook gedoen word aan daardie gesin wat eers as "onbelangrik" *izikhonzi* 'n deel van die *abadabuka* familiegronde gekry het. Groei hierdie gesin sterk en word deur hierdie groei die grondbesit van die *abadabuka* bedreig, gebeur dit dikwels dat aan hierdie (tans samegestelde) gesin 'n eie blok familiegronde gegee word waarop hulle dan 'n bantu-besitreg kan vestig.



dat 'n "positiewe" grenslyn getrek moet word, byvoorbeeld as reeds inbreuk gemaak is op die eie gebied. Dan word die *umsele*—voor—getrek in teenwoordigheid van albei partye en moontlike getuies. Elk van die belanghebbendes diep die voor na sy kant uit.

Dit is tiperend vir die Zulu se lande, dat slegs aan die kant of kante van sy lande wat langsaan die land of lande van ander lê, 'n grenslyn te vinde is. Nie alleen stel 'n grenslyn perke aan die oortreding van 'n buitestaander en sou 'n voorbarige omgrensing van eie gebied deur die bure as 'n blyk van wantroue en aanmatiging beskou word maar, (en dit is belangrik) die omgrensing van die eie gebied stel ook perke aan die moontlike uitbreiding van daardie gebied deur die besitter self. Want soos reeds gesê, is by elke bantu-besitreg oor die grond by die Zulu ingesluit, 'n reg van natuurlike, redelike uitbreiding, eweredig met die groeiende behoeftes van die bantu-besitter. Daarom is dit, dat ons prakties altyd vind dat daar een of meer rigtings is, waarin die grondbesit van 'n bantu-besitter uitbrei, en dit is gewoonlik in daardie rigting(s) waarin geen ander belange-sfere geleë is nie. Vanselfsprekend sal hier dan ook geen grensaanduidings gevind word nie; mens stel nie voorbarig beperkings aan sy eie grondbesit nie.

Opsommende kan vir die *isiginti* beskikkingsgebied gesê word dat dit omvat:

- (1) Die familiegrond van die *abadabuka* familietak in bantu-besitreg.
  - (2) Familie gronde van ander familietakke of samegestelde gesinne, ewe-eens in bantu-besitreg.
  - (3) Die gronde van enkelvoudige gesinne, geleë op die bantu-besit (of voorkeur-uitbreidingsgebied) van bogenoemde families waarop aanvanklik deur hulle 'n gebruiksreg gevestig word.
  - (4) Oorgeblewe *isiginti*-beskikkingsgebied wat gebruik mag word as deel van die kommune weiveld (*idlelo*) maar wat ook as woon-of bouweld kan dien vir nuwe of ou lede van die gemeenskap.
- Hierdie gronde val onder die gemeenskapsreg van die *isiginti*.

In kategorië 1 en 2 is die regstoestand só, dat by permanente verlating van die *isiginti* (of deur prysgewing op 'n ander manier) die grond terug val tot die *isiginti* beskikkingsgebied onder haar onbelemmerde gemeenskapsreg.

<sup>11</sup> 'n Uitsondering moet aangeteken word in die gevalle waar, in die bewerkinsseisoen, die gewas kan skadely deur klein of groot vee. Dus by voorbeeld gevalle waar die lande geleë is naby 'n gereelde beespad. Hier kry ons partykeer 'n omheining (die nadruk val hier op die beskutting van die gewas, nie op die omgrensing van die lande nie) deur doringbossies. Na die oes egter verdwyn hierdie omheining weer, tensy daar ander gewas, soos patat, aartappel of groentes is, wat beskerming behoeft.

Die gronde onder 3 val by permanente verlating terug in die bantubesit van die familietak waartoe dit oorspronklik behoort het.

Die *isiginti* bevolking kan kortliks beskryf word as 'n vaste kern van verwante *abadabuka*-krale waaromheen hulle gegroepeer het 'n nie-verwante (gedeeltelik miskien aanverwante) bevolking wat die hoof van die oorspronklike familietak ook as hulle (dorps) hoof erken.

Opsommend vir die *isigodi*-gebied kan gesê word, dat dit bestaan uit :—

1. Die kerndorp wat gegroepeer is om die oorspronklike *inzalamizi*.
2. (Indien aanwesig) een of meer opgesplitste, min of meer selfstandige nedersettings, (*isiginti*) wat gespruit het uit 'n bepaalde seksie (*uhlangothi* of *isibay' esikhulu*) van die *inzalamizi*, met elk 'n eie beskikkingsgebied, wat egter op hulle beurt deel bly uitmaak van die *isigodi* beskikkingsgebied.
3. Oop, d.w.s. nie vir woon-of bebou-doeleindes gebruikte beskikkingsgebied, wat val onder die gemeenskapsreg van die *isigodi*. Hierdie gebied staan oop vir die lede van die *isigodi*, wat dit kan gebruik om hulle vee daarop te laat wei. Verder is hierdie gebied oop vir die lede van die *isifunda* (waarvan die *isigodi* deel vorm) om daarop, ooreenkomstig hulle redelike behoeftes, te kap, sprokkel, samel, jag en delf (potklei).

Hierdie laaste opmerking wys daarop dat die *isigodi* op sy beurt weer deel uitmaak van 'n groter beskikkingsgebied (*isifunda*) waaroor 'n groter samelewing die gemeenskapsreg hanteer.

Die Zulu-grondgebied kan dus gesien word as 'n stelsel van konsentriese beskikkingsgebiede waarby elke kleinere as 't ware in 'n grotere een rus en ten dele daarin opgaan; terwyl die kleinste een (*isiginti* en soms *isigodi*) 'n differensiering van regte op die grond toelaat, nl. die bantubesitreg en die gebruiksreg.

Die bevolking van die *isigodi* bestaan uit :

1. 'n Oorspronklike kernfamilietak (hoof is *umnumzana*) wat dikwels 'n tak is van die heersende familie van die *isifunda* waarvan die *isigodi* deel vorm. Daaromheen:
2. 'n aantal nie-verwante *abadabuka* familietakke waarvan enkele op hulle beurt kerne kan wees van 'n kleiner eenheid binne die *isigodi*.
3. Ander, nie-verwante persone, gesinne, samegestelde gesinne of familietakke wat hulle om 1. of 2. geskaar het.

Die sosiale verhouding in die *isigodi* kan saamgevat word deur die tiperende woorde van een van my informante (Hlomendlini-Tshangaza

in die Nsokaze *isigodi*) : “ die *abadabuka* “ khonza ” by die *umnumzana*, die *izikhonzi khonza* by die *abadabuka*, maar almal is die kinders van die *umnumzana omkhulu*—die *isifunda*-hoof—.”

Hierdie uitlating, hoewel in party opsigte gebrekkig en onvolledig, gee tog 'n suiwer indruk van die gevoel vir sosiale verhoudings soos die Zulu dit aanvoel.

### IZIQINTI IN ISIGODI VERBAND

Die onderlinge verhouding van die *iziqinti* in die *isigodi* blyk duidelik by die toelating van *izikhonzi*. Neem Shumayela as voorbeeld.

Hier is 7 *iziqinti* waarvan 2 *ohlangothi* en 5 *esibayen' esikhulu*. Aan die *uhlangothi* is Bekizolo (Buthelezi) die *umnumzana omncane* (klein) en Mambatha die *induna* (albei *umnikazi wesiqinti*). Aan die *isibay' esikhulu* uSiyaze (Buthelezi) *umnumzana omncane* en Thombela (hoof-*induna*) (7), Ntuli, Makhoba en mTembu, *izinduna zezigodi*.

Elkeen is egter ook *umnikazi wesiqinti*. Behalwe dat hulle partykeer “ *aba* ”—vader—of *umninindawo*—“ besitter van die grond ”—genoem word, word hulle *ekhaya* (d.i. “ tuis,” binne die *isiginti*-self), deur hulle eie mense *umnumzana* genoem. Dit dui nie alleen op die erkenning dat hulle die hoofde van 'n belangrike familietak is nie, maar daarby dat hulle ook vir die nie-verwante krale, mense van aansien is.

Egter t.o.s. van die *isigodi* regsgemeenskap bly hulle *izinduna* van Shumayela. Wat die *isigodi* betref, het dus slegs die Buthelezi hoofde reg op die titel *umnumzana* (soos wat die *isifunda* betref, slegs die besturende hoof van die kernfamilie Buthelezi, tans Mathole, *umnumzana (omkhulu)* genoem word).

Kom daar nou 'n *isikhonzi* of *izikhonzi* by Mambatha (*uhlangothi*) dan sal Mambatha vir Bekizolo (*umnumzana* in daardie deel) raadpleeg. Vind hulle geen beswaar teen daardie man of mense, en kan Mambatha plek vir hom (hulle) vind, dan word sanksie gevra (veral in die geval van *izikhonzi* wat van buite die *isigodi* kom) by die *umnumzana wesifunda*. Daarna word kennis gegee aan die hoof-*induna* Thombela (die “ *umnumzana* ” van die *isibay' esikhulu* deel het weinig invloed in hierdie *isigodi*) en Mambatha wys vir die *isikhonzi* sy grond aan, binne sy eie *isiginti* natuurlik. Verwag Mambatha moelikhede met die *isikhonzi* (by voorbeeld as die man taamlik voortvarend is) maar vind hy geen genoegsame rede om hom botweg te weier nie, den betuig by sy spyt dat hy geen grond meer oor het nie en verwys die *isikhonzi* na Bekizolo. “ Want as hy (*isikhonzi*) nou rusie wil maak, stry hy met 'n groot man.” (Mambatha het vertel dat hy dit al tweemaal gedoen het en met sukses).



Bekizolo van sy kant sal by enige *isikhonzi* wat hy kry, ook vir Mambatha raadpleeg voordat hy finaal bekragtiging van die groot *umnumzana* kry.

By die *isibay' esikhulu* is die posisie soortgelyk. Kry Mtembu byvoorbeeld 'n *isikhonzi*, laat hy vir Ntuli (die aangrensende *isiqinti*) weet en hulle beraadslaag saam. Voel hulle gunstig daaroor, dan kry hulle die sanksie van die *umnumzana omkhulu (wesifunda)*, verwittig die ander *izinduna* van die " regter " deel en Mtembu wys die grond aan binne sy *isiqinti*.

Ook vir die *uhlangothi* word woord gestuur. " Want sê nou daar kom 'n groot saak by hierdie *isikhonzi*, dan sal die *uhlangothi* mense, as hulle nie van hom weet nie, sê: " Wie is daardie man, ons ken hom nie. Hoekom het jy nie vir ons gesê nie Mtembu, nou kan jy hom mos nie meer uitgooi nie." Veral die laaste opmerking is van belang. Want hoewel die *isiqinti*-hoof 'n *isikhonzi* kan opneem, is sy jurisdiksie nie so groot dat hy hom daarna weer kan uitgooi nie. Hiertoe is 'n byeenkoms van al die *izinduna* van die *isigodi* nodig (plus soveel mense wat maar daarin belangstel). Gesamentlik kan hulle dan die besluit neem dat die man ongewens is. Hierdie advies word deur middel van twee of drie *izinduna* (gewoonlik is die hoof *induna* van die *isibay' esikhulu* hierby) na die *isifunda* hoof gestuur. Slegs hy kan dan 'n *isikhonzi* uitgooi (*xhosh*a).

So ook blyk die eenheid van die *isigodi* wanneer daar 'n belangrike *isikhonzi*, byvoorbeeld 'n man met 5 of 6 krale wil kom plek seek. Dan beslis al die *izinduna* van die *isigodi* gesamentlik of hulle hom sal neem en waar hy sal bly. Die sanksie word, soos gewoonlik by die groot *umnumzana (wesifunda)* verkry. Die rede is duidelik. 'n Derglike voorval is te belangrik dat dit tot een of twee *isiqinti* beperk bly. Die hele *isigodi* het hierin belang.

Duidelik blyk hieruit dus dat, hoewel die *isiqinti* as oorspronklike territoriale eenhede bestaan, die onderlinge band en die omvatting van die *isigodi* as omsluitende regsgemeenskap, altyd sy invloed laat geld. (Sien oor hierdie punt verder onder " Formele regspraak.")

(Slot volg).

## THE ZULU ISIGODI (PART I)

## SUMMARY

The political organization of the Zulu may be regarded as a system of concentric units: kraal (*umuzi*), village group (*isiqinti*), ward (*isigodi*), district (*isifunda*) and the nation (*umhlaba* or *izwe*).

In this system each smaller unit is partly independent of, and partly embodied in, the next greater one. This paper deals with the structure and internal life of the *isigodi* and *isiqinti*.

The *isigodi* develops as a territorial unit after the establishment of an *inzalamizi* ("progenitor of kraals,") which has sprung from an already existing *isigodi*. But since the latter *isigodi* is part of a greater unit (*isifunda*), and the head of the *isifunda* usually takes the initiative in the establishment of a new *isigodi*, the new *inzalamizi* (and consequently the new *isigodi* that will develop out of it) is regarded as the extension (in a territorial as well as in an administrative sense) of the *isifunda*. Kings (*amakhosi*) as well as "chiefs" (*abanumzana bezifunda*) can establish new *isigodi* in order to increase their authority and territory.

The population of an *inzalamizi* (*yesigodi*) usually consists of one or more wives of the *umnumzana* or *inkosi* who establishes the kraal, in addition to a limited number of non-related families, being divided between the "right" and "left" section of the new kraal. From the heads of these "original" families (*abadabuka*) a few are selected by the *umnumzana* or *inkosi* to become *izinduna* of the new settlement; the *induna* appointed to the "right" section (*isibay' esikhulu*) of the kraal, is the head-*induna*, while another one may be appointed to the "left" section (*uhlangothi* or *isibay' esincane* or *ikhohlo*). These headmen may have inferior *izinduna* appointed to their respective kraal-sections, who assist them in their duties.

In course of time a small number of separate, semi-independent settlements, each under the *induna*-ship of (usually) one of the original settlers-families, may spring from the *inzalamizi*. Such subsequent settlements will in due time be enlarged by a number of other kraals (families) who have obtained permission to settle in the area from the *abadabuka*-family-head and from the head-*induna* of the *isigodi*.

These kraals (called *izikhonzi*, from *ukukhonza*=to seek refuge) together with the kraal or kraals of the *abadabuka*-family, constitute a village-group (*isiqinti*) under the headmanship of the *abadabuka*-family head.

The number of individual kraals in one *isiqinti*, today, may vary from 25 to 35. The number of *iziqinti* within one *isigodi* may vary from two to six or even more, depending upon the size and population of the *isigodi*; while *isigodi* that have but a small territory and a limited number of kraals, need not have any separate *iziqinti* at all.

The bond between the *iziqinti* and the *isigodi* continues to exist; each *isiqinti* regards itself as belonging to that particular section *isibay' esikhulu* or *uhlangothi* of the *inzalamizi* from which it has originated. For important matters concerning the *isigodi* the representatives of all the *iziqinti* assemble at the main kraal of the *isigodi*, under the leadership of its *isibay' esikhulu* headman.

## SENSUS VAN IZIQUINTI

Staat A. *EkuBuseni*:

- 2 Zulu krale
- 3 Mnguni krale
- 3 Zungu „
- 1 Sithole „
- 1 Miyeza „
- 1 Mahlofo „
- 1 Mpanza „
- 1 Xhulu „
- 2 Mncwango krale
- 1 Biyela „
- 1 Hlefele „
- 2 Jele „
- 2 Euthelezi „

Uit die Phisendlini gebied hier gekom:

- 3 MaBanga krale
- 1 Ndefele „
- 1 ShwaBede „

---

Totaal 26 Krale, verteenwoordigend vir 16 *izibongo*

Staat B. *Isiqinti van Makhehla-Zulu* (Mahlabatini distrik)

- 9 Zulu krale
- 3 Sibiya „
- 1 Khumalo krale
- 3 Mtshale „
- 1 Dlamini „
- 1 Mtetwa „
- 1 Mambatha „
- 1 Madide „

Bostaande krale behoort tot die *isiBay' esikhulu* van die *isiqinti*

- 3 Zulu krale
- 1 Mnyandweni kraal
- 2 Zondo „
- 1 Mncwango „
- 2 QwaBe „
- 1 Hlophe „
- 1 Mavundla „
- 1 Mathenjwa „
- 1 HadeBe „

Bostaande krale behoort tot die *uhlangothi*.

---

Totaal 36 krale, verteenwoordigend vir 17 *izibongo*.

Verder is daar nog 'n aantal krale wat tot die Izembe *isigodi* behoort maar wat deur gebiedsafskeiding deur die Administrasie binne hierdie *isiqinti* geval het. Hulle is:

- 1 Zwana kraal
- 3 Sibiya „



- 2 Khumalo krale
- 2 Mnyandweni krale
- 1 Sithole                "
- 1 Madide                "
- 1 Mtshale               "

Staat C. *Isiqinti van uThomo-Zulu* (Mahlabatini distrik)

- 14 Zulu krale
- 2 Sangwepi krale
- 3 Mhletshe           "
- 2 Madide             "
- 2 Mambatha          "
- 7 Khumalo           "
- 1 Ncofo              "
- 1 Mhlongo           "
- 1 Mtshale           "
- 2 Madela             "

---

Totaal 35 krale, verteenwoordigend vir 10 *izibongo*.

Staat D. *Iziqinti van umLogodwa-Zulu* (Mahlabatini distrik)

- 6 Zulu krale
- 10 Khumalo krale
- 1 Khanyile           "
- 1 Mahlofo           "
- 4 Hadeŋe             "
- 2 Mtetwa             "
- 3 Ntuli               "
- 1 Masondo           "
- 1 Sithole             "

---

Totaal 30 krale, verteenwoordigend vir 9 *izibongo*.

Staat E. *Ethalameni* (Christen *isiqinti*, Nkandhla distrik)

- |                     |              |       |
|---------------------|--------------|-------|
| 3 Masukhu krale     | 1 Mzuza      | krale |
| 6 Magwaza       "   | 2 Mboyisa    | "     |
| 2 NTombela       "  | 2 Ngome-Zulu | "     |
| 2 Nala            " | 1 Mathoŋela  | "     |
| 2 Sibiya          " | 3 Ncofo      | "     |
| 2 Khanyile       "  | 2 Mtimkulu   | "     |
| 3 Ngema          "  | 1 Mvuŋu      | "     |
| 1 Zungu          "  | 6 Afrikander | "     |
| 2 Masongo       "   | 3 Hlongwane  | "     |
| 1 Dlodla         "  | 3 Xhulu      | "     |
| 7 Mtshale        "  | 1 Majozi     | "     |
| 2 Langa          "  | 1 Nduli      | "     |
| 1 Sithole         " | 1 Zwane      | "     |
| 2 Buthelezi      "  | 1 Ndlovu     | "     |
| 4 Ntuli           " | 1 Ntsomu     | "     |
| 2 Mtembu         "  | 1 Mtetha     | "     |
| 1 Ndaŋa          "  | 1 Mabasa     | "     |

3 Qwaße	krale	1 Ntsekha	krale
1 Mkwanaſe	„	1 Thoſede	„
3 Simelane	„	1 Mhlongo	„
1 Duſe	„	1 Mnyandweni	„
1 Nxumalo	„	1 Duſazana	„
6 Mkize	„	2 Ndimā	„

---

Totaal 99 krale, verteenwoordigend vir 46 *izibongo*

Staat F. *Isigodi van Ndaſambi-Nxumalo* (Ubombo distrik)

8 Nxumalo	krale
2 Gumede	„
1 Mtembe	„
5 Ikhali	„
2 Mathenjwa	„
2 Qwaße	„
1 Ngema	„
1 Mnguni	„
3 Ntuli	„
1 Manyanga	„
1 Mabuza	„
1 Mbuyaze	„
1 Manzi	„
1 Dlamini	„
1 Nsele	„
1 Mgaze	„
1 Mtethe	„
1 Mbazini	„
2 Malambule	„
1 Mnyango	„

---

Totaal 37 krale, verteenwoordigend vir 20 *izibongo*.

# PRAISES IN NORTHERN SOTHO

H. J. VAN ZYL

In his introductory lines to praises of animals, published in *Bantu Studies*. September 1938, S. K. Lekgothoane, the author writes the following : “ . . . . . for everything that we see with our eyes we can praise, and besides, such things as we know from thinking about them or by hearing about them, all these we can praise.” This is indeed a true statement. Most Sotho people are poets or can be made into poets. The European belief that poets are born and that the ability to write poetry is a well-favoured gift of the gods to a limited number of people, does not apply to them. While we need our born poets and distinguished writers of romances, whom we consider the only people who can adequately portray objective beauty and crystallise our deepest feelings into a state of comprehensiveness, every well brought-up Mosotho has his own creative power built on an unacquired base. Our heart and mind crave to see those thoughts that remain vague and uncertain within us in proper form and reality, but we lack a natural underlying quality of giving form to these indefinite conceptions. Even Tennyson with his creative mind says :

“ I would that my tongue could utter  
The thoughts that arise in me.”

In European society the art of poets and musicians makes a cheerless heart joyful. It not only serves as general entertainment, but also gives relief when the mind suffers. However, it is merely a drug which banishes the spiritual pain only temporarily. It is only the artist himself who finds content of the highest order—the feeling which accompanies the creative act, the consciousness of the perfection of the outcome and the thorough satisfaction of having a true image of that which existed as a tantalizing secret of the soul. No one else can share in these.

Whether the Bantu experience this uncomfortable feeling which ever challenges its bearer for expression, in exactly the same degree as the Europeans do, we cannot say. What we know, however, is that they possess that enviable art of expressing in melodious words which are rhythmically arranged, the thoughts which are creations of feeling and imagination as well as impressions due to real vision. Sotho praises cannot be appreciated as they should without proper explanation ; lines that obviously seem to have no sense are actually loaded with utmost meaning and value. In the above mentioned issue of *Bantu Studies*, Dr.



Van Warmelo writes : " It is interesting to observe how much intentional ambiguity, how much sustained and consistent metaphor and how much ingenious conciseness can all be packed into the narrow limits of a few lines—the meaning is often so obscure to anyone except the initiated and the reciter himself, and even they are occasionally at a loss,—what at first sight appears to be so much incoherent nonsense then becomes, upon closer examination, intricate and subtle humour and allusion."

The praises which follow are *not* ancient praises handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation but a few of many more original, newly composed *dirêto* by some of the Sotho students of the Lemana Training Institution. Naturally a few ancient lines may appear here and there, but we consider that as being necessary for the development of good style by reading (or hearing) the works of superiors.

It is sometimes said that these—and all other praises in the different Native languages—cannot be considered poetry, and that the difference between Sotho prose and praise-poetry is so insignificant that it proves to be extremely difficult to distinguish one from the other. On closer consideration such opinions seem to be based on a somewhat limited conception of what we really have in praises. A definition of poetry is something at which it is almost impossible to arrive with any exactness. Many authors of books on language have already attempted, but judging from the minor points of difference, it becomes obvious that a certain amount of uncertainty has to occur. Apart from the fact that we lack a perfect definition we wish to point out that our praises fall in the category of poetry and that there is no reason to consider them prose. For this purpose we claim that the consideration of a few of the most striking characteristics of poetry will suffice.

### THE EXTERNAL STRUCTURE OF POETRY :

I. *Rhythm* : Poetry is partly defined as one of the fine arts which employs rhythmical language as medium of its expression. In ancient times a poem was taken to be something " made and finished," and into this expression entered a sense of artistic fashioning as a result of which poetry was felt to be " the work of a creative craftsman." As we cannot conceive of sculpture without something carved or of painting without something painted, poetry cannot be conceived without the coincident idea of language rhythmically arranged. Verse has therefore traditionally become essential for poetry and on the varieties of versification the external form of any given poem depends. The definiteness, repetition and formal character of verse-rhythm distinguish it from that laxer and more undulating rhythm which gives charm to fine prose. As far as

rhythm is concerned, therefore, the following are two vital points of difference between prose and poetry :

- (i) All good verse must be regulated and must obey the laws of its own prosody.
- (ii) The rhythm of prose must, in order to be a good example of its species, be unrecurrent.

Considering the above, we find that Native praise-poetry cannot be classified under the latter. Though the praises may not be as distinguished as in English poetry as far as the arrangement of verses and staves are concerned, there are definite rhythmical accidents of quantity and accent effected by the law of succession. These praises are by no means "perfect poetry" but it must be borne in mind that they are simply an outflow of a *creative mind* without any pre-arranged plan to work along the lines required for traditional fashioning of poetry, (as the Bushmen had no conception of European theory as regards painting). This also accounts for the fact that the rhythm in these and in all other praises is somewhat irregular and definitely does not occur in complete verses of perfect Trochaic pentameters or the like. Let us consider the following from "*The Hare*" :

\**Ke mmutla| motona| ba ntseba|*

*Ba ntseba| maphôô|fô|lô ohle|*

*Ke| a tsebya| ke tsebya| ke| mokhudu|*

*Mokhu|du morwa| maxampi| se|hlahlantša| di|kxépétla.*

The first line is a perfect *Amphibraich Trimetre*.

The second, another *Amphibraich Trimetre* with one hypermetrical syllable. (In English poetry hypermetrical syllables are mostly found at the end or the beginning of a line,

The third is an *Amphibraich Trimetre* with two hypermetrical syllables.

The fourth is again an *Amphibraich quadruped* with one *Iambus* and two hypermetrical syllables.

Unconscious of what he was doing, the poet introduced a predominant foot throughout his poem viz. the *Amphibrach*. Though in some other praise-poems the rhythm may occur in the same more or less irregular way there is always a dominating foot throughout. This does not seem

\* - Accented.

v Unaccented.

to differ from poem to poem but it is interesting to observe how it tends to differ from *poet* to *poet*.

The passage above may not be as perfectly shaped as the following :

<sup>v</sup> —   <sup>v</sup> —   <sup>v</sup> —   <sup>v</sup> —  
 "Thou ma/dest death/ and lo/ thy foot/  
<sup>v</sup> —   <sup>v</sup> —   <sup>v</sup> —   <sup>v</sup> —  
 Is on/ the skull/ which thou/ hast made."/

But not much worse than the following :

—   <sup>v</sup> —   —   <sup>v</sup> —   —   <sup>v</sup> —  
 "She looking/ through and/ through me/  
<sup>v</sup> —   <sup>v</sup> —   <sup>v</sup> —  
 Gave forth/ his voice/ of thun/der."

In as much as rhythmical recurrence is required for poetry, praise-poetry lacks only a perfect efficiency of the *craftsman* and it will be interesting to see in what way this efficiency, when acquired, will influence Native poetry.

II. *Rhyme* : This is another external characteristic of poetry. In some languages, and particularly in French, rhyme has always been something essential for a poem. In other languages, however, as in ancient Greek and Latin, rhyme does not exist. In English poetry final rhyme is quite common but is not considered something essential. Shakespeare, the greatest of English poets, did not seem to consider rhyme indispensable in his art. And is the necessity of finding rhyme not the cause of a somewhat checked inspiration of the poets who followed Shakespeare? We venture to say that if English poets could have contrived to do without rhyme, they would have been still more successful. No other poet has given finer effect to blank verse than Milton. Longfellow's "Hiawatha" and "Evangeline" are both in blank verse and we would not dare to classify them under a category of third class poetry

Many writers of verse have been unanimous in declaring that the more distinct and spontaneous the visions which present themselves to the brain for verse-expression, the more rapidly and inevitably do the rhymes occur in logical sequence. Not being a poet, the author cannot completely deny this "unanimous declaration," but we have reason to doubt its irrefutable exactness. It is not a statement which corresponds with what we have mentioned above, neither does it correspond with the language beauty of the dramatic poetry of the classics which were particularly in blank verse. Why do we study Schiller's "Maria Stuart," Goethe's "Iphigenie auf Tauris," Shakespeare's plays and many others for models of perfection? The high standard of these classics is perhaps also due to the deepest thoughts of mankind expressed in poetical



language which did not require the slightest brain-effort to fit words for rhyme into their proper places. The fact that French poets now, after centuries of introducing rhyme, show a tendency to write blank verse, is perhaps a sign that there is a desire for more freedom of expression.

We have tried to prove that though rhyme may sometimes give beauty to verse, it is not essential. We may now be at the classic stage of our Native poetry, but a change will undoubtedly come. Modern forms of external perfection will challenge our Native poets ; they will despise their "classics," and we are convinced that the coming desire to follow the European also in this respect, is bound to harm the present original beauty and underlying perfection.

III. *Number of syllables per line* : A composer of praises knows no parts, no verses, no lines. The praise is a whole. There are not even stops. The longer the reciter can keep on without breathing the more effective becomes the delivery. The verses and lines which we present here are so constructed only for the sake of poetical appearance and it was not the intention of the poet that his praise should be like that. In collaboration with us the poems have been divided into verses and lines in whichever way proved to be the most suitable. As a result of this, some lines are much shorter than others in the same verse. If we consider many other poems in European languages, we cannot find this a very serious defect. La Fontaine's fables are all in verse with strikingly unequal numbers of syllables in the lines.

## B. THE SPIRITUAL SIDE OF POETRY :

I. *Verse inspired by imagination* : Though the obvious, i.e. the external appearance, is easy to understand and to define, these concrete requirements for poetry prove to be totally insufficient, and to complete a definition with that only, is impossible. A spiritual meaning cannot be omitted ; there must be a definite internal side, an ecstasy which fits in with the *craft*. Poetry also means verse which is inspired by imagination and which attains a measure of perfection in that degree at which it aims. In Sotho praises there is always the same aim, viz. to glorify a person, a place, an animal or whatever the topic for glorification may be. To attain this aim, imagination forms an essential necessity. If an animal is praised the poet places himself in the place of that animal. In most cases he makes a personification. He is no longer a person but a baboon. The personified baboon speaks about himself ; he praises himself, he has actually become a boaster. Praises are mostly composed in the first person.

II. *Vision* : Vision is the main characteristic of praises, and the praise-poems supply an interesting study of the Native's ability to observe

the hard facts about an object and not so much the colourful beauty of the sky at sunset or the musical sound of flowing water, or the awakening of nature at spring, or the sombre colours of autumn as does the European. Beauty does not make something praiseworthy. It is a great deed, an impressive appearance, fear inspiring persons or objects, mystery, popularity, cruelty and the like that arouse a poetical feeling. Being aware of the fact that these qualities are praiseworthy it is interesting to observe how the truth of this statement is revealed throughout.

III. *Linguistic beauty* : Poetry is usually a revelation of the beauty of a language. Poetical language must stand out above the ordinary. A poetical mind does not deal with its subject in the plain manner of ordinary prose but clothes and enriches it with graceful personifications, similitudes and other appropriate figures. We do not wish to point out all the figures in these praises since it would be a much simpler task to select such parts as do not contain figure. We cannot reveal the beauty of the Sotho texts in our translations but we wish to draw the attention of the reader of Sepedi to this elevated form of language in comparison with the usual "jingle of commonplace words." Compound words, elaborate adjectives and adjectival phrases, onomatopoeia, metaphor, idiom and the like are all factors which render beauty to the Sotho language. Though these qualities may also be found in ordinary speech there is no other form in which they take such a prominent place as in praises, and this can only be ascribed to a deeper spiritual experience and poetical thought which demand the best of the language for expression.

IV. *Sense* : Though poetry reveals the deepest thoughts and holds intense meaning, it does not mean that there may be no deflection to this demand. We quote Saintsbury : "The greatest part, if not the whole, of the pleasure-giving appeal of poetry lies in its sound rather than in its sense, or to speak with extreme exactness, *lies in the manner in which the sound conveys the sense*. No 'chain of extremely valuable thoughts' is poetry in itself—it only becomes poetry when it is conveyed with those charms of language, metre, rhyme, cadence, what not, which certain persons disdain."

Our praises are almost perfect in as far as they correspond with the above description. They are definitely not senseless, but the sense cannot be observed (or felt) until we have acquired the ability to *feel* and *know* the "sound" so as to be able to experience the pleasure-giving appeal which lies in the manner in which the sound conveys the sense.

*Method of Delivery* : Praise-poems are not recited in the same manner as we would recite an English poem for example. The reciter does not stay his praise from fullstop to fullstop with a comma-pause in

between, nor does he say it in a manner of thought by thought. The traditional way of delivering a praise is to start and proceed with the greatest speed possible, saying it rather softly and pronouncing the words most indistinctly. Due to this method a European, who has a perfect speaking knowledge of the language may not be able to understand anything of what is said. Apparently the reciter says as much of the praise as he possibly can without taking breath and stops to take in more "fuel" wherever he finds it necessary. When the performer stops, he stops for quite five seconds, looks down as if he had been drinking too much beer at a time, swallows once and then proceeds with new and amazing vigour.

Among our students we have some who are already so much influenced by the orthodox method of reciting English poems (which, by the way, has also become lamentably poor) that they insist upon saying Sotho praises in the same way. Though the author advocates a few alterations in the above antique method of delivery, he seriously condemns the latter imitation which causes the praise to lose all its charm. The composers of the praises which follow, however, are unspoilt reciters of their poetry, and the tendency is to say their praises as their forefathers would have said them. Though we approve more of this than of any other existing form, we are not completely in favour of it and have therefore tried to control the delivery a little :

- (i) The traditional speed must be maintained but at the same time the words must be uttered distinctly. The latter is difficult to attain, but the difficulty is overcome, if the praise is said fairly loudly. This also brings the speed down but the effect is the same as when it is said in the usual fast way.
- (ii) Exclamations and onomatopoetic sounds must be said very clearly and impressively.
- (iii) Rests occur according to our punctuation. A fullstop indicates a proper pause (though not longer than about two seconds). The comma indicates a very short pause,—much shorter than it would be in an English poem—and though the reciter pauses, he has to act as if in a hurry to carry on.

We have experienced that if the praises are said in this manner the delivery is both impressive and "natively" effective. The reciter must naturally have a feeling for rhythm and introduce the correct intonation and modulation of the voice, otherwise the whole praise loses its charm.

*Sources :* As we have already mentioned, the praises were composed by students of a teacher's training institution. The students belong to



different Northern Sotho tribes who speak various Pedi dialects which incidentally differ very little. Due to this, and the fact that they all study Sepedi, we can hardly draw the readers' attention to linguistic peculiarities which pertain to the different tribes. For the sake of detail, however, we shall indicate the nationality of the composer with a footnote.<sup>1</sup>

*Note :* Explanatory notes following reference numbers are at the end of the Praises.

### I. KOLOLO

*Axee ! Kololo kótswana-a-thaba,  
Seolwana sa mmataladi se-kxopa-banna-matóló.  
Ke sekidimedi se tia kxole-kxole,  
Se se ileng sa tia Bepe-Bokxalaka,  
Mekxoši ya kwala Phala-borwa-a-umamalatši  
A timana a eja Malope, makxoši a phalalana.*

*Axee ! Kololo kótswana-a-dinaka,  
Xa ke hlabé ke a thula  
Nna morwa-a-thaba-Leolu.  
Ba a nkaketša xa kena dinaka  
Nna kololo-thšupya ya Makópa  
Ke dulang le nōxa-kxolo Makópeng.  
Ke nna sekutla ke a khutla—  
Le xe ke sena dinaka, nna kololo  
Morwa-a-Sekhukhumelé Makópeng.  
Ba a aketsa, ba ka ntirang Baróka,  
Nna Makxóna-tšohle-a-Bopedi,  
Ke Mopedi, ke motswapó-mo-dula-Tswapong.*

*Axee ! Kololo kótswana-a-thaba !  
Swana ya bo-Matlala Sekxóba-dinaxa,  
Kolobé ya bo-Mpókóró-a-Letswapó.  
Ba akétša ba ka ntirang,  
Nna ntsoraledi-a-dithaba  
Mpataladi-a-ditsela le mebila.*

*Axee ! Kololo seralala le naxa,  
O kitima-kitima le dinaxa tša  
Phala-borwa le Maikaneng ;  
A éta a thula metató*

*Ke mmatsoralala Sekxóba-dinaxa.*

*(Ruben Motsinoni).<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> The author has taken the liberty to omit the acute accent used to distinguish between "ké" (it is) and "ke" (I).

<sup>2</sup> I. Molebedu.

I. THE KLIPSPRINGER<sup>1</sup>

Axee ! *kololo kôtswana*<sup>2</sup> of the mountain,  
 The little anthill that lies flat on the ground and strikes the knees of men,  
 It is a thundering noise that sounded far,  
 That actually sounded across the Limpopo in Rhodesia  
 And the noise was heard in the Lowveld of Mmamalatši  
 Who "stinges" when she eats *malope*.

Axee' *Kololo kôtswana* with the horns  
 I don't pierce but I butt,  
 I the son of the Lulu-mountains ;  
 They are telling lies about me, I have no horns  
 I kololo, the pollard of the precipices  
 Who stays with the big snake *makôpeng*.<sup>3</sup>

I am the hornless, I punch with my head  
 Although I have no horns, I kololo  
 Son of the one who stays at Makôpa ;  
 They are telling lies, what can they do to me  
 I the almighty of Pedi-land ?  
 I am a Mopedi, I am a *Motswapo* resident of *Tswapong*.<sup>4</sup>

Axee ! *Kololo kôtswana* of the mountain !  
 The black one of Matlala, the distributor of lands<sup>5</sup>  
 The pig of *Mpókôrô* of *Letswapo*.  
 They are telling lies, what can they do to me ?  
 To me the climber of the mountains ?  
 I that lie hidden in the roads and footpaths.

Axee ! *Kololo* the peregrinator  
 He runs about over the countries  
 Of the Low-veld and Maikaneng<sup>6</sup>  
 Going about to prepare the telephone wires,  
 I am the mountaineer—The distributor of lands.

## II. BOLOBEDU

*Bolobedu ke bo-dula-kolobé-ya-Letlatša*  
*Ke bo-loba-pula bya bo-Mohale,*  
*Ke Bothsong bodula Thšweu-ya-dithšweu*  
*Motšatši, phaswa-a-diphaswa ;*  
*Wa hlaxa le le tšélé le-hlōka-tedu*  
*Wa nkó ya lenónó Morwedi-a-Mohale.*

*Bolobedu ke bo-dula-kolobé-boila-Lentlé,*  
*Ke mošaté kxóróxéla-batho*  
*Kxorong tša bo-Monéri le bo-Molokwane*  
*Le tšóna 'kolobé-kxolo bo-Mokótó,*  
*Xammóxó le yóna kolobé-thšweu e sa bonwexo*  
*Wa bóna yóna O a hwa,*  
*Ke yóna Phaswa-ya-dinaka kolobé e sa tšofalexo*  
*Xwa tšofala yéna—'Sakó le ya hwa.*

*Bolobedu ke bo-éla-meetse*  
*Meetse ma-lobya ka motho le ka kxomo,*  
*Meetse ma-thšoloxa ka diphóróró*  
*Meetse maswana ma-kxiwa ke badimo*  
*'Nokeng tša Bolobedu bo Maphóthó-phóthó*  
*Le bo Moxelé, mo xo kxaxo 'Thšweu tša mošaté.*

*Ke Bolobedu bya bo-Mma-šala-nabó-a-Mohale*  
*Šala-nabó re sa ya Badimong xabo-Mokótó le bo-Seale*  
*Ke xóna moo kolobé e bópaxo*  
*Xe e bitša makolobyana a yóna a ratéxaxo*  
*Theétša xe a foloxa thabeng xa bo Malematša*  
*Le maxóróxóšong a bo-Maraka le bo-Rabothata,*  
*Ke barwa ba Balóbédi 'kolobé tša Lesódi*  
*Di nwaxo meetse nokeng ya Molótótsi.*

*Ke Bolobedu bya bo-Ntlépa le bo-Nthékétla*  
*'Kolobé-tona tša Bolobedu bo-Mamatlépa-a-kxašane*  
*Mamatlépa, Tlépantši-a-dithšaba,*  
*Maxóró kamoka a mo thšaba*  
*Ke boloba-pula bya bo-Nthékétla*  
*Maboréketla Nthu-la-xo-duma,*  
*Le re : Itokišeng Maxarola, ke fihlilé*  
*Nna Nthékétla-Nthékanthši-a-ditaba.*



## II. LOBEDU-LAND

Bolobedu is where resides the pig of Letlatša<sup>1</sup>  
 It is where rain is asked for—the place of Mohale,  
 It is *Bothsong* where stays the white-of-the-whites  
 Motšatši, black and white belly of the black and white bellies  
 Of the long cheek without beard  
 Of the nicely pointed nose, daughter of Mohale.

Bolobedu is the residence of the pig where they shun foreigners  
 It is the Great Place where people flock together  
 In the courts of Moneri and Molokwane<sup>2</sup>  
 And also the great pigs amongst which is Mokôtô  
 Together with the white pig which is not seen,  
 If you see it you die  
 It is the very black-and-white belly pig with the horns, which never  
     grows old,  
 If it grows old the country dies.

Bolobedu is where the water flows  
 Water that is obtained by the presentation of a person and a cow,  
 Water that comes in torrents from (above),  
 Water that is black and drawn by the gods  
 From the rivers of Bolobedu like Maphôthô-phôthô  
 And Moxolê where draw the whites of the Chief's village

It is Bolobedu of Mma-šala-nabô<sup>3</sup> of Mohale  
 Remain with them we are still going to invoke the gods, Mokôtô and  
     Sealê.

It is where the pig roars (grunts)  
 When it summons it's affectionate little pigs  
 Listen when they descend the mountain at Malematša  
 And from the thickly wooded cliff of Maraka and Rabothata,<sup>4</sup>  
 They are the sons of the Balobedu—pigs of the forest  
 Which drink from the river Molôlôtsi.

It is Bolobedu of Ntlêpa and Nthêkêtlâ<sup>5</sup>  
 Boars of Bolobedu—Mamatlêpa of Kxašane,  
 Mamatlêpa, smasher and crusher of nations,  
 All villages are afraid of him ;  
 It is the fountain of rain where Nthêketla stays,  
 Maborêkêtlâ, the-cloud-that-roars (thunders)  
 Saying : Be prepared soldiers ! I have arrived,  
 I, Nthêkêtlâ—shaker-of-mountains.

*Ke Bolobedu bya bo-Mafututša ka Nkó*  
*Fututša mabu re ye Tlatša*  
*Tlatša-Kxóróxêla-kolobê-sodi la Mmapulana-a-Ngwako*  
*Xa xo tsene Mothseta-Bothsong xa bo-Pilwana*  
*Xa e se bo-Nthingwana-a-ditau*  
*Le bo-Nthata-tlou-ya-ditlou*  
*Bathseta-xae ba kolobeng*  
*Le rexo mohla le befile a fêtoxa*  
*'Tau tša mariri le 'tlou tša mênô-malotšwa*  
*Di ya xo phalala kolobê-sôdi-a-Letlatša.*

*Are yeng Bolobedu, Xa bo Mmadumane Mefakeng*  
*Mo re tlo 'xo bôna 'Sakó la Nthšóthšónónó*  
*'Sakó-hlôka-bokomó, la bo Tumedi-a-dithšaba*  
*Emang xa Madumane Mefakeng*  
*Le bôné ka mo la Kolobeng le ikadilexo*  
*Xo fihla Tau-lome le boBolema-ka-mahló,*  
*Ke 'sakó la Sesêthwane-kolobê xa ke bônwe*  
*Ka bônwa didiba le dinoka di a phša*  
*Xammôxó le mabyang le dihlare di a ôma*  
*Kaxobane xo bônwe kolobê-sôdi-kila-xo-bônwa.*

*Ke mo xo xatilexo bo Piti Jubera le masole a xaxwé*  
*Ba tlil'o bôna Thokwana-tekwa ya Kolobeng*  
*Ba laeditšwe ke Mahlasedi a hlasaxo*  
*Xe a re ke a apa—Kolobê ya Xauta*  
*'Ntló tša yóna di axilwe ka'kota tša Xauta*  
*Xauta-képya-thabeng tša Bolobedu bo-Khwékhwé,*  
*Ke bo-dula-kolobê-kila-xo-bônwa-ke-makxowa*  
*Motšatši mo-neša-pula, kxoši ya Balobedu.*  
(Ruben Motsinoni).

### III. SETIMÊLA

*Ke nna lexokolodi le leso leputlelele la nkó ye nthso,*  
*Se-nwa-meetse le 'dibeng tša baloyi.*  
*Wa re ke tla lówa ke mang?*  
*Ke paletše le-ija-motho le 'fsijsing la nkata,*  
*Mo dinkatawana le dinyamatsana di bokollaxo madi bošexo le mosexare.*  
*Ke nna lexokolodi le leso lepopoduma le dumêla teng.*

It is Bolobedu of the pusher-with-the-nose<sup>6</sup>  
 Plough the soil and let us go to Tlatša,  
 Tlatša the gatherer of wild pigs of Mmapulana of Ngwako  
 An alien is not allowed to enter Bothsong of Pilwana<sup>7</sup>  
 Except Nthingwana of the lions<sup>8</sup>  
 And Nthata, Elephant of the elephants  
 The naturalized aliens of the country of the pig,  
 Who, when times are harsh, change and become  
 Lions with manes and elephants with sharpened teeth  
 Going to reinforce the wild pig of Letlatša.

Let us go to Bolobedu where *Mmadumane Mefakeng* stays  
 Where we shall have a full view of Nthšôthšônônô's country  
 The country that has no end—the cosmopolitan country.<sup>9</sup>  
 Stand on top of the mount-of-palms at Mmadumane<sup>10</sup>  
 And see how the country of *Kolobeng* (pig) extends  
 As far as Tau-lome and where ploughing is done as far as the eye can  
 see,

It is the country of Sesêthwane, the pig that is not to be seen,  
 If I am seen, all the springs, fountains and rivers dry up,  
 Together with the grass and trees they dry up  
 Because the wild pig of the forest that should not be seen has been  
 seen.<sup>11</sup>

It is where Piet Joubert and his soldiers trod  
 Having come to see the jewel of Kolobeng,  
 They were shown by the sparks that eject spasmodically  
 When it speaks,—the golden pig,  
 Whose houses are built of golden pillars  
 Gold that is dug from the mountains of Bolobedu like Khwêkhwê  
 It is where stays the pig that shuns to be seen by Whites,  
 Motšatši, the rain-maker,<sup>12</sup> chief of the Balobedu.

### III. THE TRAIN

I am the black centipede, the rusher with a black nose  
 Drinker of water even in the fountains of the witches,  
 And who do you say will bewitch me ?  
 I triumphed over the one who eats a person (the sun) and over the  
 pitch black darkness<sup>1</sup>  
 Where the carnivorous animals drink blood day and night.  
 I am the centipede, the mighty roarer that roars within.

*Baxéšo ba ntheile ba re ke nna Ke-sa-ya-Borwa.*  
*Ke hlanamile xa e se nna marwala-dithoto,*  
*Naman? ye nthso ya Borwa.*  
*Ke nna moloji-moso*  
*Moloji wa bošexo le mosexare,*  
*Ke nna Ramaétô setšubalala lešokeng, mohlôya-tsela,*  
*Ke nna lexoletša mollô teng.*  
*Ke laditše pitsi kxang*  
*Re ile re šiana ya re ke lebelô, mohlaba wa re ke nabile,*  
*Ka feta nna namane e nthso.*  
*Ke ile ke fihla motse-molla-kôma,*  
*Ba re ba mpotšiša, ka re ke tšwa xa ntintilane,*  
*Ke tšwa setsibye, ke tšwa' naxeng tša kxole.*

*Ba re mphaxo O tla tšea wa eng?*  
*Ka re xa ke tšeye mphaxo ka etša mafséxa a a xeno*  
*Nna ke laléla ka tlala mo-ja-o-sa-hlalle.*  
*Ke ila mathudi boxadi bya Ramaésela,*  
*Xe nka hwetšwa mathuding mokxolokwane ó ka lla*  
*Wa etša sebata-kxomo xe nkwe e swere ya mošate.*  
*Xaxešo ba nhloboxile.*  
*Xa se nna ngwana-lapa, ke lefokolodi le tumiša khuiti,*  
*Xa ke ditelwe ke tlala,*  
*Xa ke ditelwe ke maoto-bohloko,*  
*Ke ditelwa ke bana ba naxa*  
*Le xo loba ke loba xo bóna.*  
*Xa ke rate xo huéla dikóma*  
*Dikóma xa se tša bo motho ;*  
*Baxešo ba itaeletše xe ha ntesa ka ba lexwara-xwara.*  
*Metse nkabe e se ya thopya*  
*Nna sexakalala mohla motse ó eme ka dinao,*  
*Naxa e re : “ Ke tla ba khutiša kae mafséxa a ? ”*

*Ke dula ke le dihlako mo tseleng*  
*Ke wéla-wéla mekoteng*  
*Ke etša noka xe e éla,*  
*Ke rwele motse wa monna yo moso*  
*Ba ka ntirang benye-tsela nna lexokolodi le leso?*  
*Se potlakéla-dinakó. (Demetrius Segooa).<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Motiba's Location (Mokoni).



My people have named me, they say I am *I'm-still-going-south* ;  
 I have changed, I am no longer a carrier of goods  
 The black calf of the South,  
 I am the black witch  
 The witch of day and night,  
 I am a traveller the vigorous rapid one and hater of the road,<sup>2</sup>  
 I am the one that kindles fire in the stomach.  
 I have won the horse,  
 When we raced I was the fastest, the sand filled the air  
 And I passed, I the black calf.  
 I arrived at the place where the circumcision drum was beating (big  
 village).  
 When they asked me I told them that I came from a place which  
 nobody knows,  
 I come from the unknown, from a far-away country.  
 They asked me what kind of provision I would take  
 And I said I do not take provision like these cowards of yours.  
 I sleep without food, I, the omnivorous ;<sup>3</sup>  
 I shun the verandah where Ramaesêla is married,  
 If I be found on the verandah a triumphal outcry will be heard  
 Like the great cry<sup>4</sup> when the tiger has victimised the royal animals.  
 At my home they have lost all hope of ever finding me  
 I am not a *house-child*, I am the centipede that praises the vleï,  
 I am not delayed by hunger  
 Nor am I delayed by sore feet  
 But I am delayed by the children of the wild ;<sup>5</sup>  
 To pay tribute, I pray tribute to them.  
 I do not want to die for the sacred  
 The sacred belong to nobody ;  
 My people have committed national suicide by allowing me to be-  
 come a deserter<sup>6</sup>  
 Villages would not have been taken into captivity.  
 I the brave, when the village stands on its feet (in danger)  
 And the country says : Where shall I hide them these cowards ?  
 I remain with my feet on the road (always travelling)  
 And go falling-falling into the dongas,  
 I imitate a river which is in flood  
 Carrying the village of a black man.<sup>7</sup>  
 What can they do to me, the owners of the road ? 'T'o me the black  
 centipede  
 That rushes for schedule times ?

## IV. KHUDU

*Ke mokhudu morwa-Moxampi, sehlahlantša dikxépétla.*

*Ke Mokhudu, maphóófóló ohle a ntseba*

*A ntseba le Bo-mmutla, morwa-Masekane.*

*Ke khudu phóófóló ya mebotó.*

*Mebala-bala ke apere*

*Dikxépétla ke hlahlanthšitše*

*Phóófóló e sepelaxo ka mpa ;*

*Xa se mpa, ke sepela ka lexapi.*

*Khudu ke a fula ke byalo ka kxomo,*

*Byang ke fula mphafa mebotong.*

*Kótse ke rwele maxetleng*

*Ke ntló ke rwala xe ke ya maetong.*

*O bóne wéna motsomi ó tso-maxo,*

*Wa bataméla ke tséna ntlong,*

*Wa tloxa ka tšwa ka sepela*

*Nna Mokhudu morwa-Maxampi.*

*Lerumó la-ka ke ménó*

*Ka loma ke a ripa.*

*Xo sepeleng xa ke ye kxole*

*Maoto aka a imélwa ke setopo.*

*A kxobokana maphóófóló ohle*

*Rramaanó xo bitšwa nna féla ;*

*Xo bitšwa phóófóló ye bohlae*

*Nna Mokhudu morwa-Moxampi Sehlahlanthsa dikxépétla.*

*(Othaniel Mautla).<sup>1</sup>*

## V. MMUTLA

*Ke mmutla morwa Masekane*

*Mmutla lehu ke šia la thóka,*

*Xa ele la mpya ke hwa ke lekile*

*Ke hwa ke lekile ke xanne.*

*Ke mmutla Se-tswalwa-'sokeng*

*Ke séhlana ya lebeló le ntši,*

*Le-šia-mpya ditsébé ditéléle*

*Mahló ke makxomokxomo.*

*Ke mmutla ke thséla bošexo*

*Ke róbala mola mathaka a tsoxile*

*Xo tsoxile dimpya 'namane tše ditona*

*Ke thšaba bóna ka xore ba nthloile.*

<sup>1</sup> Motlokwa.

## IV. THE TORTOISE

I am the tortoise son of *Maxampe*,<sup>1</sup> I am the scaly animal ;  
 I am the tortoise, all the animals know me,  
 They know me, even the hare, son of *Masekane*.  
 I am the tortoise, the animal of the hills.  
 Mutli-coloured clothes I have put on  
 I have piled scales on top of one another,  
 I am the animal that walks on its belly,  
 It is not a belly, I walk in a shell.  
 Being a tortoise I graze, I am like a cow,  
 As for grass, I graze the *soetgras* on the hills.  
 I carry my shield on my shoulders  
 It is my house, I carry it when I go on journeys.  
 Take care you hunter that hunts  
 If you come nearer I go into my house  
 And if you go away I come out and walk on,  
 I the tortoise, son of *Maxampe*.  
 My weapon is my teeth,  
 If I bite I cut,  
 In walking I don't go far  
 My body is too heavy for my feet.  
 And all the animals gathered,  
 I am the only one called a wise man (father of plans)  
 I am called a clever animal,  
 I, the tortoise son of *Maxampe*, the scaly animal.

## V. THE HARE

I am the hare son of *Masekane*<sup>1</sup>  
 The hare I fear the death caused by a knobkierie,  
 As for the death caused by a dog, I die after having tried,  
 After having tried and having refused to die.  
 I am the hare, the one-born-in-the-wilderness,  
 I am the little grey one that runs with great speed,  
 Winner of the dog with my long ears  
 My eyes are big round balls.  
 I am the hare I look for my food during the night  
 I sleep when my companions have got up,  
 When the gods are awake—the bull-calves,  
 I fear them because they hate me.

*Mmutla ke tšwile ke tsene tseleng  
Kópó ke raxile ya leba xodimo,  
Mpya e-tla le-šiu-mpya ke xo šie  
Ke Xo šie, motsomi a phunwé ke sekhupa-moró.*

*Ke mmutla motona ba ntseba  
Ba ntseba maphóófóló ohle,  
Ke a tsebya ke tsebya ke mokhudu  
Mokhudu morwa Maxampi sehlahlanthša dikxépétla.  
(Harry Monyemoratwe).<sup>1</sup>*

## VI. DITHAXA

*Tswi-tswiri ! nna motho ke xónónwa,  
Xe O xónónwa O kwele eng ?  
Ke kwele xo bolélwa mabare-bare a dithaxa,  
Tša ja mabélé thšemong ya Lesiba tšu fetša.*

*Tša re xe di tloxa di re hummm—  
Ba re ekwa dithaxa mereba,  
Barwa ba lapa la Mosima  
Bana ba pitsi ye llexo makxóró le mabaka.*

*Ke dithaxa mereba  
Dithséhla di sepela ka lekókó,  
Bana ba melóngwana mehwibidu,  
Bana ba xo hlaba 'šata meokeng.*

*Tupu-tupu ! moši ó thunya xo sa le ka phoka,  
Howaa ! Sweaa ! Xo kwala xo sa le xosasa ;  
Di a fetša dithaxa mereba,  
Bana ba melóngwana mehwibidu.*

*Kwa xae ke yo ! yo !  
Bana ba lla,  
Bo mmabó ba ile mašemong dinónyaneng  
Ke mapono a tsene naxeng.*

*Tšeang diépé le fetšiše dikala tša mere.  
Yo ! mongwaxa re tlo ja molló,  
Re tlo hlóka le pudi ya 'leme le le tala.  
Ke dithaxa mereba dithséhla di sepela ka lekókó.*

*(Eliphas Ramokgopa).<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Motlokwa.

<sup>2</sup> Motlokwa.



I am the hare, I got up and took the road,  
 I kicked my tail and it points upwards  
 Come you dog,—being the winner of dogs let me win you  
 Let me win you and let the hunter loose the container of soup.<sup>2</sup>

I am the big hare they know me  
 They know me all the animals,  
 I am known, I am known even by the tortoise  
 The tortoise, son of *Maxampe*—the scaly animal.

## VI. THE WEAVER-BIRDS (FINCHES)

Tswi-tswiri!! I the person, I suspect,  
 What have you heard that makes you suspicious?  
 I heard been spoken, rumours of weaver-birds,  
 They ate corn in Lesiba's<sup>1</sup> field and finished.

And when they left they sounded *hummm*. . . . .  
 They said listen to the numerous weaver-birds  
 Sons of Mosima's<sup>2</sup> family  
 Children of the horse that ate the courtyards and the times.

It is the numerous weaver-birds  
 The grey ones that go about in swarms  
 Children with the little red beaks,  
 Children that make a noise in the mimosa trees.

Tupu! tupu! The smoke comes out while the dew still glitters,  
 Howaa! Sweaa!—is heard in the early morning<sup>3</sup>  
 They are finishing (corn), the numerous weaver-birds  
 Children with the little red beaks.

At home it is Yô! Yô!  
 The children are crying  
 Their mothers have gone to the fields to the birds,  
 It is the Zulus that have entered the country.

Take the axes and finish (fell) the branches of the trees.  
 Yô! This year we shall eat fire  
 We shall lack even a blue-tongued goat,<sup>4</sup>  
 It is the numerous weaver-birds, the grey ones that go about in  
 swarms.

## VII. KXAKA

*Kxaka ya mma-ntswe-pedi-a-tswewe,  
 Nkane O thwêthwa maxoleng ?  
 Bana O ba šiele kae ?  
 Ke ba šiele mašohlošohlong.  
 Motsomi Ngwako wa xo ja dinónyana  
 O hlaxile le thamaxa le tilu bana ba tilwana,  
 Nna mma-ntswe-pedi-a-tswewe  
 Ka kerekêtsa-ka kerekêtsa.*

*Xo lala xwa ba ša-thaa— !  
 Hhurr ! rurr ! pha-pha-phaa— !  
 Nna mma-ntswe-pedi-a-tswewe  
 Bana ke ba šiele 'šwahlang.  
 Ke nna kxaka matšaramêtsa xo sasa  
 Mabala matšara-tšara hlóxó o lemotlo,  
 Kxaka ya mma-ntswe-pedi-a-tswewe,  
 Xo phapa ke xaxwe.  
 Sebaka-thšemo le kxwale  
 Xóna a tseba a sa lema.  
 Ke mophaphi yo moxolo, nónyana se tla ka xo ja  
 Kxaka mma-ntswe-pedi-a-tswewe.*

(*Eliphas Ramokgopa*).

## VIII. SENÔBÔRWANA

*Axee ! Senôbôrwana sa bo-Lethobolla,  
 Senôbôrwana ke a phyatla,  
 Senôbôrwana sa bo-Phôphi,  
 Sethuša ba ya leêtó,  
 Ngaka ke Ra-dithébélé.  
 Bo-Phathudi ke alafile lekwerekwereng  
 Bo-Mangéna ke ngenné merithšana,  
 Moruleng ke phala mathaka,  
 Ke ngwana-Masepetša thuru a Mašalane  
 Senôbôrwana sa bo-Morongwa le Molokó.  
 Se mpône nkó bo-pepetla  
 Xo dupa ke phala bo-Mokxéra-hlóxó  
 'Ma-Mokxadi a bo-Mokxadi ke a upa,  
 Dithuthupa ke diló tša Moxakeng  
 Ka mmókotsane masiló mono re a laya.*

## VII. THE GUINEA-FOWL

Guinea-fowl of *Mma-ntswe-pedi-a-tswepe*<sup>1</sup>

Why do you go on tiptoe in the fallows ?

Where did you leave your children ?

I left them in the thickets.

The hunter Ngwako,<sup>2</sup> eater of the birds

He came with the red and white back and the light-black brown and  
white children of the female of *tilu* (coloured as above).

I Mmatswe-pedi-a-tswepe

And I cackle and I cackle.

Sleeping is just *ša-thaa* ! . . . .

Hhurr ! hurr ! *pha-pha-phaa*. . . . !

*Nna Mma-ntswe-pedi-a-tswepe*

My children I left in the bushes.

I am the guinea-fowl that gets up in the morning

My colours are speckled, my head is sharp-pointed

The guinea-fowl of *Mma-ntswe-pedi-a-tswepe*

Cheating is characteristic of him.

He that quarrelled with a partridge over a field<sup>2</sup>

Yet he knew that he did not plough.

He is a great deceiver, the bird that only comes to eat,

Guinea-fowl *Mma-ntswe-pedi-a-tswepe*.

VIII. SENÔBÔRWANA<sup>1</sup>

Axee ! Senôbôrwana of Lethobolla<sup>2</sup>

Senôbôrwana I smash (the disease)

Senôbôrwana of Phôphi,<sup>3</sup>

Helper of the sick (on their way to the here-after)

The doctor is Ra-dithêbêlê.<sup>4</sup>

I have cured Phathudi<sup>5</sup> at the black berry bushes,

I have cut the hair of Mangêna.<sup>5</sup>

I like the *marula*-beer more than my friends

I am the child-of-the-despatcher of *thuru*<sup>6</sup> of Mašalane,

Senôbôrwana of Morongwa and Molokô.<sup>7</sup>

Don't look at my big nose (and think that I am unable to smell)

In smelling I am better than biting fighters (dogs).

I have bewitched Ma-Mokxadi of Mokxadi<sup>8</sup> (caused her to be tired),

Popcorn is a thing of Moxakeng (a distant place in the backveld)

I have astonished the ignorant with our *mókôtsane*<sup>9</sup> (because of it's  
abundance)

*Kxodiopong ke a séka,  
Ke mafatane setswatswa sa ditswatswa  
A thibolla nkó meetse e ba maphaa-phaa ;  
Kxodiopong letšema ke nthšitše  
Banyana ba teng xa ba boledise moeng  
Ke kxodiopó la bo-Mokóka.*

*Ké sephutha-putha dithébélé  
Ka khupulla bana le a wéla,  
Manosa a noša thšweu matlaleng  
Pitsi thšweu ke a phuma  
Nkó-nthso ka rokanthša.*

*Senóbórwana sa bo-Lethobolla  
Diatla ke tladitse ka balwetši,  
Xo alafa ke nna nkxwete,  
Ke phala le bo-Polokwana-a-bo-Lesiba  
Nna ngaka se-alafa-bo-Khukhwane  
Ka thuša le bafeti ba tsela.*

*Senóbórwana sa bo-merula ke a rola,  
Morula keno xa a phakwe,  
Ba nwa ba phuma, ba nwa ba tloxa,  
Ba nwa ba eme, ba nwa ba dutše,  
Ke dutše ke ba petléla nna nkxwete,  
Nna Senóbórwana ke nweša Barwana féla.*

*Senóbórwana ke phuthile bana-ba-lahlwa  
Leoka xa ke phadišwe ke a phadiša,  
Xa ke šupe, ke a šupya, xa ke nyatše,  
Ke šupetša balahlwa 'thabeng  
Senóbórwana sa Mošaté thabeng.*

*Axee ! Ke Senóbórwana xa ke thselwe  
Ba tla ba nkhwetsša maphaswa,  
Ngwana-Lebóxo ke a hlaba.  
Senóbórwana sabo-Phóphi,  
Morwa-Mahutšiša bafete  
Ke kxadi ya dingaka, ke a alafile.*

*Senóbórwana se-lebéléla-thabeng  
Senóbórwana meetse ke a didimetša  
Meetse mabotse ke dilo tšešo  
Nna Senóbórwana sa bo-Lethobolla.*

(Archibald Manny).



At Kxôdiopong<sup>10</sup> I keep on asking for the things taken from me,  
 I am the attractive valley —the braggart of braggarts !  
 He opens his nose and the water flows everywhere,  
 At Kxôdiopong I have started the ploughing  
 The girls living there never speak to a visitor  
 It is Kxôdiopong of Makôka (headman).

I am the collector of medicines  
 When I open my hands you children are frightened.  
 The causer-to-drink let the white one drink on the ashheap  
 The white horse I smash  
 The black nose I sew together.

Senôbôrwana of Lethôbolla,  
 My hands I have filled with patients  
 At curing I am the best of all  
 I am better than Pietersburg-of-Lesiba  
 I the doctor, curer of Khunwane  
 I help even the passers-by on the road.

Senôbôrwana of the *marula* area, I take them from my head,<sup>11</sup>  
 The *marula*-beer here is not stored (we waste because of its abundance)  
 They drink and smash the pot with the remainder, they drink and go away,  
 They drink while they stand, they drink while they sit down,  
 I sit down and give them still more, I the best of all  
 I Senôbôrwana, I let only the short ones drink (Litt. *Bushmen*)

Senôbôrwana I have gathered (and given refuge to) the deserted children,  
 As far as mimosa trees are concerned I am not beaten, I beat,  
 I don't point I am pointed at, I do not deny,  
 I point at the lost people in the mountain,  
 Senôbôrwana with the chief's village on the mountain.

Axee ! I am Senôbôrwana I am not passed by  
 They come and find me the *maphaswa*.  
 Child of Lebôxô I pierce  
 Senôbôrwana of Phôphi,  
 Son of the one-who-helps-passers-by  
 I am the sister of the doctors, I have cured.

Senôbôrwana, the one that faces the mountain,  
 Senôbôrwana I have plenty of water (to dip out)  
 Good waters are pertinent to us,  
 I Senôbôrwana of Lethobolla.

## IX. THSWENE.

*Thšwene ya nkó ya phaphathi  
Ke sefoloxa-thaba ka sa moraxo,  
Ka bóna bose ke tsotsometša ngwana.  
Tlaa ke xo rone dinta motho towé  
Nna thšwene sefoloxa thaba.*

*Ke nna thšwene seloxa-maanó  
Mošemane re dula mosela xodimo  
Moruba re thea tšatsi le e ja motho.  
Xa ke je dinobe ke a hlola,  
Ke bitša moxananwa a le kxole.*

*Ke moxana-nóxa-mosela e ópeng  
Keno re re : Wa mma-mofoloxa ka kala ya more,  
Wa se sware kala O a wa.  
Moraxo ke pharilwe sexaswa  
Ke monna wa leduba-dubó.*

*Ke rile ke le thšemong ya le-ila-Mošekara  
Bošiló re byaletšwe ba xa-ra-thšwene  
More wa šita rena O padile ;  
Ke senaméla-thaba sa Baxananwa  
Seriba ke patša mathaka kamoka.*

*Ke matšopotša dithébé,  
Wa re O tla wa wela.*

*Mono thabeng ke thšaba nóxa setatetša (maphauphau) batho  
Xe ke xóhlóla' thaba di a duma-duma,  
Ke sekxopedi se-ja-mabélé a bo kwété.*

*Xóó ! Ke se-ana thšwene  
Ke motang-tang motatetša maphauphau  
O a tlaruma Morwa-Thšwene  
Ka bóna nóxa ke ja pelo  
Xe ke hwa ke re : Xóó ! Ka fetša ka xo letóna.*

*Xa ke hlape mahló ke a a hlóla  
Tša Morwa-Thšwene xa di adingwé  
Ba xa Rathšwene xa ba adime,  
Wa bóna mosadi wa ra-Thšwene O wetše .  
Nna ke bala xóó ka fetša thankxa  
Ke moleta thaba mo-metša-ditloxo  
Mo-utswa-tšohle Thšwene xóóó ! !*

(Archibald Mannya).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mo-xa Matlala.

## 1A. BABOON

Baboon with the flat nose,  
 I am the descender of the mountain going backwards.  
 When I see nice things I push my child forward.  
 Come let me search your lice you fellow,  
 I, the baboon, descender of the mountain.  
 I am the baboon, the contriver of plans (schemer).  
 Boy, we sit on our tails,  
 Moruba<sup>1</sup> we play when the sun eats a person (very hot)  
 I do not eat *dinôbê*<sup>2</sup> I foretell an ominous event,  
 I call a resident-of-Blaauwberg while he is yet far off.  
 I am a hater of snakes the one who crosses a kloof ;  
 Here we say : You that climb down from a tree by a branch,  
 If you do not hold the branch firmly you fall.  
 Behind me I have sewn a patch,  
 I am a man that causes trouble.  
 When I was in the field of the one-that-shuns-Masekara<sup>3</sup>  
 Foolishness caused them to plant for us, the Baboon-family.  
 The tree that we fail to climb cannot be climbed,  
 I am the mountaineer of Blaauwberg  
 I have a better forehead than all my friends.  
 I am the one that cracks the sticks  
 And if you come you fall,  
 Here on the mountain I fear the snake that coils,  
 When I cough the mountains roar.  
 I am a beggar, eater of other people's mealies.  
 Xôô ! I am a baboon-venerator,  
 I am the plant that twines round other plants, twiner of fools.  
 He jumps about, Son-of-Baboon,  
 If I see a snake I eat the heart,  
 When I die I say : Xôô ! and finish with my feet in the air.  
 I do not wash my eyes (face), I do miracles.<sup>4</sup>  
 Possessions of the baboon-family are not borrower'  
 The members of the baboon-family do not lend,  
 If you see a woman of the baboon tribe you fear.  
 I count Xôô ! and stop without having finished ;  
 I am the keeper of the mountain the swallower of monkey-nuts  
 Stealer of all things, Baboon—Xôô !

## X. PULA

*Šea ! ke maru !*

*Ke makhupétša pula a Bopedi,*

*Ke Mathša-thša dibêšo*

*Mašitiša pela xo thsela,*

*Pela ya xo thšela nkxóknónó.*

*Motho mothšaba tša Boróka*

*Tša Boroka O tsebile neng ?*

*O tseba xo apara 'šela la Ngwato,*

*Xo apara ke mašašarétša.*

*Axee-ee ! e-kwa e-kwa Makidimétša a Bopedi*

*Xa Motšatši ke kóma sethintha banna . . .*

*Yo a xatikilexo dinta le diithšithšidi*

*Xa a le iše xa bô-Mokxatla-o-kxatle.*

*Ke Manthšóthšóróró ke mabéké-béké,*

*Ngwana-a-Bopedi pula xa thšabe, ke " Mantlapulele."*

*O thšaba lexadima Serutla ka mosela ;*

*Mphse e nthso le-duma-thabeng.*

*Ke ma-thšo-thšobo-thšobo*

*Serétwa ke Mantlópódi 'pholo tša Borwa.*

*Wa se rête yêna O tlo ja nta wa šeba ka lexxai,*

*Mo a tšwaxo ke mokxónyana.*

*Ke bô-Motšatši ba mahló-mašweu*

*La mahló-matala ke letsénêla*

*Wa bóna bóna O bône lewatle*

*Lewatlé nkaralala setsoša Badimo.*

*Se bóné dingaka xo phatsemétša marung*

*Xe xo hlaxa nkxérébétla 'thorwana tša mesela.*

*Ke lepéppha le romikwe be benyi melopo*

*Ke benyi melopo bô-Motšatši.*

*Bô-Molema ke Balobo*

*Ke ba-loba-pula-ka-kxópa*

*Kxópa pheku ya motse,*

*Kxópa se binthša bô-mmankoko-à-melapó.*

*(Moses Sehlodumela).<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Motlokwa.



## X. RAIN

Here they are ! They are the clouds !  
 They are the holders of rain from the east (Bopedi),  
 They are the destroyers of fireplaces  
 Which hinders the dassie (rock-rabbit) from crossing,  
 The dassie that crosses a very big thing.

The person that fears the things of Borôka,<sup>1</sup>  
 When did you know the things of Borôka ?  
 You only know to put on the cloth of Ngwato<sup>2</sup>  
 Dressing is dishabille.

Axee ! Hear hear the thundering of Bopedi (the east)  
 At Motšatši it is the secret that shakes the men. . . .  
 The one who stampered on the lice and the bugs,  
 Let them take you to those that repeatedly drop on the same place.<sup>3</sup>

It is *manthšóihšóróró*, it is *mabéké*, (sounds of the rain and thundering)  
 The child-of-Bopedi does not run away from rain, it is *Matlapulélé* ;<sup>4</sup>  
 He is only afraid of lightning, The demolisher with the tail  
 The black ostrich that sounds on the mountain.

It is *ma-thšo-thšobo-thšobo* (sound of the rain)  
 That is praised by the storks, oxen of the South ;  
 If you don't praise him you will eat a louse and relish with it's egg,<sup>5</sup>  
 Where he comes from he is a son-in-law (i.e. a respected person).

They are the Motšatšis with white eyes  
 The blue-eyed there, is an alien,  
 If you see them you have seen the sea, (just as well)  
 The vast and wide sea, waker of the gods.

Don't look at the doctors when they stare at the clouds,  
 When there appears pieces of broken clay utensils, the granules with tails.<sup>6</sup>  
 It is but a temporary downpour sent by the owners of the rivers,  
 By the owners of the rivers, Motšatši and others.

The *Molemas* are the *Balobos*,<sup>7</sup>  
 They give a matured girl (to the chief) for rain,  
 A matured girl, the charm of a village,  
 A matured girl that causes the lords of the rivers to dance.

## XI. LEMANA

*Lemana ke sekóló sa thutó,  
 Ke sekóló sa thutó le khutšó,  
 Ke Lemana Sedibana se nthša lenyóra,  
 Ke lexae la mo-thšwa-thutó  
 Axee-ee ! Tlang le ipóneleng,  
 " Mafató a kxwale ke xe xo sa le xosasa,"  
 Xa bô-Lemana a bô-mmamoxódi-a-šaba-šaba,  
 Mahló ke diala . . . . tlang le ipóneleng.  
 Ke Lemana naledi ya masa  
 Ke sebónéša bo-mmampipi tsela  
 O nakametše yo mothamaxana madimo-hkwaneng,  
 Ke yéna kxaetšadi ya masoxana le banenyana.  
 Ke bokxapha-kxapha ka meetseng  
 Ka meetseng a matswana-tswana,  
 Xo nwa ke bo xo-xodu-xodu  
 Bónang ! Bopheló bo ka meetseng.  
 Lemana xo dutše bo rotwe, monna !  
 Xo dutše dikakaditla, dikwété-kwété,  
 Xo eme bo rôtó-a-rôtó, mafadifadi,  
 Tlang le ipóneleng mahló xa a tšéé sa motho.*

*Ke Lemana la bo 'mamoxodi a-šaba-šaba  
 O rošše nyaba-nyaba, bonyinyima-nyima,  
 A tséna Ma-Afrika, a tséna ka dikete-kete ka merabe-rabe.  
 Šebale xo dutše ke Ma-Afrika ba rile šathalala-aa-a. . .*

*Di kae dithšaba le dithšabana di xo roriše ?  
 A kae Maréna le Marénana a Xo binelé ?  
 Di a xo ópeléla dithšiwana, wéna O lexo Lemana,  
 Rotoxa ! Bonesa ! xomme O rorišwé.*

*Ke Lemana sekóló sa thutó  
 Ke sekóló Sa thabó le khutšó,  
 Ke lemana sedibana-se-nthša lenyóra  
 Ke lexae la motšwa-thutó. (Moses Sehlodumela).*

## XII. MPYA

*Tsomiša mpya phetéllo  
 Lehu la mpya xa le kxole,  
 Mothšaki mošebétša batho  
 Mothšaki a thšakéla dibatana.*

XI. LEMANA<sup>1</sup>

Lemana is the school of instruction,  
 It is the school of instruction and peace,  
 It is Lemana the little fountain that quenches thirst  
 It is the home where learning emanates  
 Axee! Come and see for yourselves,  
 The scratching time of the partridge is in the morning,<sup>2</sup>  
 At Lemana, the gatherer of people in great numbers  
 Eyes are but decorations,<sup>3</sup> . . . . come and see for yourselves.  
 It is Lemana, the morning star  
 That shows the night-people (wizards) the way,  
 It is stuck high up (on a hill) the red with the white back  
 It is the sister of the young men and young women.  
 It is the spattering and splashing in the water,  
 In the black-black water;  
 The drinking goes "xodu-xodu-xodu. . . ."  
 Behold life is in the water.  
 At Lemana stay great great men,  
 There are physically strong men and other smart fellows  
 There stand the most industrious and brave men,  
 Come and see for yourselves because eyes do not take that which belongs  
 to somebody else.  
 It is Lemana where great numbers are assembled,  
 It has gathered numerous; large crowds,  
 They are entering, the Africans, they enter in thousands, in uncountable  
 numbers,  
 There they are, they are seated, the Africans and it goes: *Šathalala-aa*.  
 Where are the nations and smaller nations to praise you?  
 Where are the lords and their subordinates to dance for you?  
 Orphans are singing for you, you who are Lemana,  
 Rise! Let see! and be praised.  
 Lemana is the school of instruction,  
 It is the school of instruction and peace.  
 It is Lemana, the little fountain that quenches thirst.  
 It is the home where learning emanates.

## XII. THE DOG

Hunt with the fastest dog,  
 The death of a dog is not far  
 The visitor that works for man,  
 The visitor that visits small animals.

*A re bo-mmutla ba lale ba thšoxile  
 Pekwana di bêtha mathokó,  
 Ngwana a sobya ka lenala  
 Ba re mampya a xéma-xéma.*

*Mpya ! Bo-pela ba letše le tlala  
 Xadima la manyóke-nyóke,  
 Le-šita-banna-xo-phéma  
 'Nóxa di lla ka teng.*

*Ke rile ke feta thabeng  
 Mothšaki a tséna fsikeng,  
 Ka kwa a kxunya sefateng  
 A se nthšitše sebatana.*

*Mpya re rua dikxóthó  
 Bo-Thepudi ya ma-ja-ditala,  
 Thóba dingwé mekókótló  
 Thsehla ya xo ja boxóbé.*

*Ke bo-molomo ntsóbókwana  
 Khunong ya xo kxa moróxó,  
 Mpyana e tee motseng  
 Xo tsoma e a tsoxéléla.*

*Tsomiša mpya phetéllo  
 Lehu la mpya xa le tsebye,  
 Mothšaki mosebétša batho  
 Mothšaki a thsakéla dibatana.*

(Abram Modipane).<sup>1</sup>

### XIII. MOSOTHO

*Axee ! ! Re a lothša wéna Mosotho wa Bothša,  
 Lefoja la tladi le foféla kxole ;  
 Le foféla naxeng ya xa-Ledimanyana la Moépa  
 Ke naxa le hlakola 'leso.*

*Mo ke fihlilexo xa Mpaša Bokxalaka,  
 Ka thsela ka khuna matóló  
 Nna lesésé la morwa wa Bakxaxa ;  
 Lesésé la xo tsaroxa phoka.*

*Axee ! ! Nna ka re ke ya xae Leboa,  
 Ka bóna ba bašweu  
 Ba xa serotwana santlatlanu,  
 Ba kxaleméla masoxana*

<sup>1</sup>Mamabolo's Loc.



He says the hares must sleep terrified  
 Little hearts palpitating at the sides,  
 A child being pinched by the tail  
 They say dogs are heard breathing.  
 Dog! The rockrabbits slept with hunger,  
 The threatening winding lightning (dog)  
 That men could not withhold,  
 Snakes are crying within.<sup>1</sup>

When I was passing by the mountain  
 The visitor went into a rock,  
 I heard him barking at the pass  
 He had brought out an animal.

For dogs we rear the bull-dogs  
*Bo-Thépudi* eater of the uncooked,<sup>2</sup>  
 Breaker of other's backs<sup>2</sup>  
 The greyhound that eats porridge.

They are the long-mouthed  
 The brown one that gathers vegetables,<sup>3</sup>  
 The only dog in the village  
 It goes out hunting early in the morning.

Hunt with the fastest dog  
 The death of a dog is not known  
 The visitor that provides men with relish  
 The visitor that visits small animals.

### XIII. A MOSOTHO

Axee! We greet you Mosotho of the Northern countries,  
 The feather of lightning that flies far;  
 That flies to the country of Ledimanyana<sup>1</sup> of Moêpa  
 The country that has black *hlakola*<sup>2</sup> trees  
 Where I arrived at Mphaša in the north,  
 And crossed and bent my knees,  
 I the slender, son of Bakxaxa,<sup>3</sup>  
 The slender who is active and smart.

Axee! I, when going to my home in the north  
 I saw the whites  
 Of the old mealie basket<sup>4</sup>  
 Shouting to the young men

*A malala-kxotla-a-moraka.*  
*Mo re bônaxo muši o etšwa lexonyeng,*  
*O tséna phaphošeng ya lewa*  
*Moxale a ethimola a itiiia kati.*  
*Axee !! ka re ke tséna xae Leboa,*  
*Ba Leboa ba re boéla xa xeno*  
*Wéna Lekxalaka tena.*  
*Re rile re xo otlara re O motho*  
*Re re kotse o tla dika O re Kxéla meróxó,*  
*O re thixéléla ba xa Mararangrang-a-tau ;*  
*Bana ba Bupo-a-kxaditse ;*  
*Ba xa-Mmahlamoxolo-a-diséxó.*

*Axee !! E sa le bôna masetlapelo-a-Sebilo,*  
*Ba xa-Mpaša ba mpitša phukubye-a-Sebilo.*  
*Nna e le xore ke nna letsaroxa-phoka*  
*Nna motsitswanyana moswanyana,*  
*Ke ikéla xae xa Se-mpe-ke-khoše.*  
*Ba mpala ka motaxa ka taxa ;*  
*Ka ba ka fahla ngwedi kxarebe e thšwana ;*  
*Nna ngwana Kxaribišane-a-tau.*  
*Eeeee—uuuu !!!! Tlang le bône Mosotho wa Bothša ;*  
*Ngwana ma-lla-lla a sa fetse*  
*Bo-mmaxwe ba ile naxa ya Ledingwanyana la M .epa*  
*Naxa ya Lehlakola leso ;*  
*Mo ke išitšexo 'koto, 'koto a hlaéla ;*  
*Ka iša 'tsóxó, 'tsóxó a hlaéla ;*  
*Le se bône 'tsóxó xo hlaéla byalo*  
*Melapó ke fetile ya xa Se-mphe-ke-khoše*  
*Xa ke yo moso, ke yo monala ;*  
*Ke nna yo monala wa xa Lekope*  
*Thaxa se lla melapong*  
*Melodi e tšwa ka difata*  
*Difata tša mafóófóólló ;*  
*Kua Moxodi xa Mmapokana*  
*Kxomo tša xóna diletšwa dixwaxwa ;*  
*Ke mantso a hlaba kolobé.*  
*Axee ! Wéna Ntšéé ngwanaka ;*  
*Boéla xae Bokxakxa*  
*O yo tšea sehlare sa maetša-pelo ;*  
*Sa bo Motšatši-wa-malope ;*

Who sleep in a group at the cattle-post  
 Where we see smoke coming from the wood.<sup>5</sup>  
 Going into a cave,  
 The fellow sneezes and capers about.  
 Axee ! When I got home in the north  
 The people of the North said : Go home  
 You wretched Rhodesian.  
 When we punished you we said you were a person (we thought you were  
 human)  
 Thinking that you would stay with us and pick vegetables for us,  
 Protecting us from the fierce-as-a-lion Marang-rang<sup>6</sup>  
 Children of *Bupo-a-kxadišē*<sup>7</sup>  
 Those of Mahlamoxolo of laughters.  
 Axee ! It is still them, the hardships of Sebilo,  
 Those of Mphaša call me the jackal of Sebilo,  
 And yet I am the agile one.  
 I, the little black weasel  
 I am going home to Don't-give-me-I am-satisfied,  
 They smear me with white clay and I shine  
 I even blind the moon, the white maiden,  
 I, child of *Kxaribišane*<sup>8</sup> of the lion.  
 Eeeee-uuuu !!! Come and see the Mosotho of Bothša  
 Child of the one that cries without stopping  
 His mother has gone to the country of Ledimanyana of Maêpa  
 Country of the black Hlakola tree  
 To which I took the foot but the foot failed  
 And I took the hand but the hand also failed,<sup>9</sup>  
 Don't look at the hand being short like this  
 I crossed the rivers of *Se-mphe-ke-khotšē*.  
 I am not a black one, I am a black and white one<sup>10</sup>  
 I am the red and white one of Lekope,  
 The weaver-bird that cries in the rivers  
 The whistling sounds far across the mountains (passes).  
 Passes of the wild animals,  
 There at *Moxodi* of *Mmapokana* (unknown)  
 Where the cattle are taught to croak like frogs<sup>11</sup>  
 By the black one, slayer of the pig.  
 Axee ! You, Ntšēē my child  
 Go back home to the North  
 And go and fetch medicine that causes pleasure<sup>12</sup>  
 Of Motšatši of the rivers

*Yéna o tla se fa Ralefifi.  
Kua molapong-wa-Rapótéla ;  
Xa Mpaša seloxa-maseka,  
Wa ya xóna, O ile le byélélé.*

*Axee !! Tlang le bône lešaba la batho,  
Mo letle la Badimo le letšexo xóna,  
Ba ntlotšu ka makhura ka phadima  
Ka ba ka fahla 'kxaetsdi tša Leboa  
Nna ngwana lexobu xa ke na mmala  
Xe le nyaka le se ke la itiia lethala,  
Le butšišé marapó a tše di hwilexo.*

(Freddie Petje).<sup>1</sup>

## EXPLANATORY NOTES

### I. THE KLIPSPRINGER

1. A small antelope about as big as a duiker which is commonly found in the Mountains in Northern Transvaal.
2. *Kótswana* is a contracted form of *kórótswana*, a term to describe animals with horns that are both curved and twisted.
3. A fearful place with big trees and rocks on the bank of a river called *Sekhukhuméle* where it is believed stays a big snake.
4. Certain areas in the Northern-eastern Transvaal (Pietersburg district) which has special characteristics as regards soil and vegetation which distinguish them from others.
5. Matlala is a Native chief in the western part of the Pietersburg dist., often spoken of as *Matlala-sekxóba-dinaxa*—the distributor of lands.
6. Areas in the Lethaba district near Leydsdorp.

### II. LOBEDU-LAND

1. The Balobedu venerate the pig. Tlatša is a place where wild pigs abound.
2. Members of the court of Motšatši, queen of the Balobedu.
3. The chieftainess who preceded Motšatši.—*Mother-remain-with-them.*
4. Maraka, Rabothata and Kxašane are some of the indunas.
5. Abbreviations for induna-names Mamatlêpa (Kxašane) and Mabcrêketla. These men are considered as two great heroes of the Balobedu.

<sup>1</sup> Motlokwa.



She will give it to Ralefifi (father of the darkness)  
 At the river of Rapôtêla<sup>13</sup>  
 At Mphaša the weaver of bangles (ankle and arm bangles),  
 If you go there nothing will be heard of you again.

Axee! Come and see a host of people  
 Where the comforts of the gods lie,  
 They smear me with fat and I shine  
 And I shine too bright for the sisters of the North  
 I child of the chameleon I have no colour,  
 If you want me don't ring the telephone  
 But ask the bones of the dead. (i.e. cast the bones).

6. The pig.—“that pushes the soil with the nose.”
7. Formerly outsiders were not allowed to roam about freely in Lobeduland.
8. Nthingwana, chief of the *Ba-Sekxota* who venerate the lion. In praises this tribe is spoken of as *Ba-Sekxota sa Mma-bodingwana-a-tau*.
9. Cosmopolitan in the sense that it is inhabited by different tribes.
10. Palmtrees grow in abundance in this part of the country and there is a peak from where one can see very far.
11. Motšatši is regarded by her subjects as a sacred being and is not to be seen by an ordinary person.
12. It is still believed that Motšatši possesses some supernatural power which distinguishes her as the greatest rainmaker known.

### III. THE TRAIN

1. The train travels under extremely difficult conditions caused by the heat of the sun and impenetrable darkness of the night.
2. Because of its endless journeys the train has become tired of travelling.
3. Due to the fact that it conveys things of all kinds the train calls itself an all-devouring being.
4. It is the custom among most Northern Sotho tribes that if ever something disastrous happens in a village, the one (or few) by whom it is noticed runs about making it known to the entire village by shouting *Sebata-kxomo-wêê . . . !!!* The *great cry* is this or something like it.
5. Hills and mountains which make travelling difficult.

6. A deserter in the sense that it stays away from home and becomes a homeless wanderer.
7. Carrying so many Natives (going to the mines) the train resembles a Native village.

#### IV. THE TORTOISE

1. A tortoise is widely called the *son of Maxampe*. We do not know the origin of this expression, even the *poet* does not know.

#### V. THE HARE

1. Like the tortoise the hare is called the *son of Masekame* ; here also we failed to find the origin.
2. The hindleg of the hare is considered to be ideal for cooking soup, hence the whole hare is called the *container of soup*.

#### VI. THE WEAVERBIRDS

1. Ngwasheng, chief of the Bakone tribe which venerates the duiker. The Bakone stay near Pietersburg, mostly in Mothiba's location.
2. A very common name among the Batlôkwa.
3. Shouts to scare the birds in the fields.
4. An idiomatic expression saying that such and such a person lacks even a blue-tongued goat, meaning that he is very poor.

#### VII. THE GUINEA-FOWL

1. A name for a tall person with long legs who walks rapidly taking long steps at the same time.
2. The name of a well-known hunter (probably historical).
3. A story is told about a guinea-fowl and a partridge that quarrelled. It is said that the former tried to cheat the partridge which tilled the soil during the ploughing season whilst the guinea-fowl was doing nothing

#### VIII. SENOBORWANA

1. A leper-asylum in the Pietersburg district of which the official name is Bochem but it is also known by the name of *Number-one*. From this Number-one the Natives have formed the word *Senôbô-rwana* with both English and Afrikaans influence, viz. *Nommer* and *one*.
2. Native name of the late Mrs. Franz, founder of the institution.
3. A Native called Maloba but popularly known as Phophi who works at the asylum.

4. A Native name given to Dr. Franz, youngest son of Mrs. Franz who is now in charge of the hospital
5. Native names of Native commissioners who were once stationed at Bochém.
6. Trained animals of the witches sent about by their masters to spy on other villages.
7. Children of Mr. Hans Franz, brother to the doctor, farmer and superintendent of the hospital.
8. Mrs. Roos and her daughter, the former has also got something to do with the hospital and is the doctor's sister.
9. A kind of wild honey made by a small fly in dry logs.
10. A place in the neighbourhood.
11. *Xo rola* means to take from your head the container (and in this case) share its contents with somebody else.

#### IX. THE BABOON

1. A very common game played by the Transvaal Sotho.
2. A yellowish berry found in the mountains in N. Transvaal.
3. A nickname for a farmer (any cultivator of lands).
4. The baboon does not wash his face in the ordinary way but does it better than anybody else does it.

#### X. RAIN

1. A certain part of the Lowveld,—towards the North-east.
2. A wild animal (failed to find exactly what) of which the skin is often used for clothing.
3. The rain-drops.
4. The children of the Northern Sotho finds much pleasure in going outside in the rain when it rains softly. They dance about and sing:

*Mantlapulélé pula ya medupi.*

*Mantlapulélé pula ya medupi.*

They repeat these words many many times, it is *une chanson sans fin*.

5. This vulgar expression is used when the future seems dark as far as food is concerned.
6. Dropping raindrops resembling seeds with tails.

#### XI. LEMANA

1. A Native Teacher's Training Institution under the supervision of the Swiss Mission in the N. Transvaal, about seventeen miles east of Louis Trichard.

2. A proverb meaning that just as the partridge looks for food in the morning unmolested can anybody prosper by doing things in time.
3. A proverb which means that seeing something does not mean taking it; everybody is entitled to look at anything—therefore come and look!

## XII. THE DOG

1. The whole verse has more meaning than it obviously seems. It deals with hunger and here it is referred to as the lightning which men cannot defy. The Native people also believe that when you are hungry there is a snake in your stomach which bites you.
2. *Thepudi* is the name of a dog but it really replaces a historical hero praised by the same lines. During the reign of Sekhukhune I, in the year 1868 the Bapedi were at war with the Swazis. The war ended in favour of the Bapedi who killed 500 Swazis near the Steelpoort river. It was after this victory that Sekhukhune praised himself as:

*Kxapuru ya ma-ja-ditala, thóba dingwé melala.*

*Kxapuru eater-of-the-raw, breaker of others' necks.*

3. The dog does not actually gather vegetables but something just as good namely meat which is, like vegetables, used for *sešébo* (relish).

## XIII. MOSOTHO

1. A village adjacent to Molêpo in the Pietersburg district.
2. A wild tree yielding small black fruits.
3. Another Sotho tribe in the North-eastern district of Pietersburg.
4. Refers to the flat-based European straw-hats (donkey breakfast).
5. All about a White man smoking his pipe.
6. A very brave and fearful warrior—as fierce as a lion.
7. *Bopu* means Utopian—a place nowhere to be found, far-off country.
8. A name of a brave person that once lived.
9. Means that all his efforts as far as matrimonial affairs were concerned were doomed to failure.
10. Indicating how handsome he was.
11. The croaking indicates the sound of milk when the cows are milked.
12. It was believed that there was a herb which could make people happy and cheerful when they were in a very dull mood.
13. Believed to be a mysterious river which, if you cross it you are sure to die.



# SPECIMENS OF THE SWAKA AND WEST LALA DIALECTS

By J. T. MUNDAY

The Lamba dialect of N. Rhodesia has been made familiar to students of Comparative Bantu through the publications of Dr. Doke. Lamba is, however, only one of a closely related group of dialects, which are spoken by a number of tribes living in N.E. Rhodesia ; it is spoken by the Natives of the area known as the Copper Belt. To the N.E. of the Lamba live the Aushi (wrongly named the Ushi in N. Rhodesia Government publications). To the E. of the Lamba and to the S. of the Aushi live the Bena-Bukanda, in the Belgian Congo. To the S. of these last, and to the S.E. of the Lamba, lives a very small tribe called the Swaka. To the E. of the Swaka lies the country of the W. Lala, whilst still further beyond, to the N.E., lies that of the E. Lala. All these small tribes regard themselves as having distinct peculiarities of language, but it is doubtful how far they can be accurately described as truly separate tribes ; the Bena-Bukanda, the Swaka, and the Lala are all part of the empire of the Nyendwa Clan and should probably be regarded as being members of one large tribe, together with the Bena-Luano and the Ambo. These last, together with a number of other small tribes, which live further to the N. and N.E. of the Aushi, also speak closely related dialects, as also do the Bemba.

In this article specimens are given of two of these dialects, Swaka, and W. Lala, in each case a fairly idiomatic folk tale is given with a translation and notes. Both stories are frequently heard amongst Bantu, and the second, the one in W. Lala, may be compared with a Lamba version in Doke, "Lamba Folk-lore," No. LXXXIV. The third specimen given is a conversation, consisting of more or less conventionalised units, such as is carried on between old men who have met after a time of separation ; it shows traces of the dialect of the Bena-Bukanda, for although it was written down in the W. Lala area, many of the inhabitants of that district are immigrants from further north, either from the Bena-Bukanda or from the Aushi. For this reason it is not untypical of speech heard amongst the W. Lala.

It would be difficult to select a typical W. Lala speaker, the present inhabitants having arrived, in wave after wave of immigration, during the last 150 years or so. Writing in 1912 of this area, amongst others, A. C. Madan said " Every district, almost every village, has at present peculiarities of its own, enough for a Native to identify another Native as living in

it and to distinguish a native who is not." These small tribes and sub-tribes, for the most part, claim a common origin, and their languages seem to be the result of an ever increasing variation from a not very far distant parent. Now that the period of tribal wars has passed and communication between districts has become easy it is probable that this growth of differentiation will stop. Most of the men and many of the women of these tribes spend considerable periods away from home, living in the Copper Belt, where they mix daily with members of all the other tribes which use similar dialects. Already there is a tendency for younger speakers to avoid using tribal peculiarities in speaking. It is the policy of Government to encourage the use of only one dialect of this group, that of the Bemba; once pre-eminently warlike and still having a form of central government unknown to others, but otherwise indistinguishable from them in poverty and backwardness of agriculture. So far the output of literature in this dialect has been small, perhaps owing partly to the rather naive orthography officially adopted.

These small dialects, from these various influences, seem likely soon to die out, and to be merged into a greater language which will be spoken over a greater part of N.E. Rhodesia, and it would be well if a large number of carefully recorded specimens from each could be preserved in some permanent form before it is too late. Dr. Doke has recorded a large number of Lamba specimens, many of which have been published; in addition to these nearly 200 Swaka and W. Lala stories have been collected by missionaries, but only a few have been made available in school readers, such as *Ififuto*, which is a Lala Reader published by the Sheldon Press. Specimens of the majority of this group of dialects do not seem to be available at all.

In *Bantu Studies*, June 1939, Dr. Doke published some specimens of Lamba; this article should be read with that article in mind, for idioms common to the dialects dealt with here, and to Lamba, are not again noticed, though certain differences are pointed out. References are made frequently to *Textbook of Lamba Grammar* by C. M. Doke, which is quoted as T.L.G.

## 1.

## ICISIMICISYO CAMFUMU IYAUPILE MUKOLO IDUMBA

*Lomba mukolo uyo talukufyala,*<sup>1</sup> *iyu. Peyka kambi kasuwa*<sup>2</sup> *ulucelo mukolo alukuya kumawala mumusēsyō wakanika. Alisanjile ulucece uluweme ukwākuti lulilēle munsila. Peykā-ti lutapuke*<sup>3</sup> *ukumulolesya kalumwita ati, "Mama." Lomba naye mukolo ati, "Eya, lelo nāwōnapō-mwāna."*<sup>4</sup> *Lomba kāmūwūla, kāwika namunuma.*<sup>5</sup> *Ati afike kumawala*

*kālīma panīni, lomba kāinuka<sup>6</sup> alukuya<sup>7</sup> kumusi. Kāinjila muḡanda. Aḡalume kaḡepusya ati, "Lelo wāḡonapō-mwāna?" Aḡakasi naḡo ati, "Kutola nātola." Aḡalume ati, "Eya, lelo twāḡonapō-mwāna."*

*Peḡkō-mwānō-yo ālikulile, kāḡa nikamwāle.<sup>8</sup> Lomba wālukumusya muḡanda ili wamwisalila.<sup>9</sup> Lombā-wāḡyāḡwe<sup>10</sup> kaḡayako ati, "Twēnde, tukatole amasuku." Lomba naye kākāna ati, "I, nākāna." Namailo kaḡayako, kaḡalaḡilā-masiwi antu amo,<sup>11</sup> ati, "Twēnde, tukatole amasuku." Peḡka kaḡamukwātīlē-citāla.<sup>12</sup> Lomba kāfuma, kaḡaya naye mumasuku. Ati wāfike kaḡatola nemasuku wansako pāka-pāka.<sup>13</sup> Lomba kaḡekala wālukutusya.<sup>14</sup> Umbi ati, "ḡgatufike-pō-kampelelwa tupēluḡepo." Cine kaḡafika. Lomba kaḡamwita ati, "Weḡo, kawisa, upēluḡe pakampelelwa." Naye ati, "I, nākāna." Lomba kaḡamupanjila. Lomba kāya, kānina. Lomba kaḡaḡōna ndā<sup>15</sup> kumuti ili asampauka<sup>16</sup> kumiti yōnse sāmpu-sāmpu sāmpu-sāmpu. Peḡka kāluka nikolwe, kaḡālemō-kumwita. Peḡka kaḡaḡōna namumpayḡa peleḡese<sup>17</sup> kamutontola<sup>18</sup> nebwīno.*

*Lombāḡo aḡāmupanjile kaḡabwelela kumusi. Lomba wānyina ati, "Mbomuḡyenu mwāisa kwiswila,<sup>19</sup> āsyala-pi?" Naḡo ati, "Āya mumpayḡa ili asampauka kumiti, twālemō-kumwita, tābwelelepo."<sup>20</sup> Imḡumu ati, "Aḡāiswilō-mwāna wānji wāletē-mpayḡo isinji, pakuti ne-mwīne aḡakasi wātōlele<sup>21</sup> munsila." Lombā-wākasi kweḡkō-kulilō-<sup>22</sup> mwāna wāḡo.*

### A STORY OF A CHIEF WHO MARRIED A CONSORT, A BARREN WOMAN

Now the consort used nōt to bear, no. Now one day in the morning the consort was going to the fields along the edge of a little river. She found a very beautiful infant lying in the path. Now when it opened its eyes to stare at her, it called her saying, "My mother." And then the consort said, "Yes, indeed, to-day I have found a child." Then she took (it) up and put (it) on her back. When she reached the fields she hoed a little, then she left off, going to the village. She entered the hut. The husband asked saying, "Have you found a child to-day?" And then the wife said, "Indeed I have picked (it) up." The husband said, "Yes, indeed, to-day we have found a child."

Now that child grew, she became a developed girl. They used to leave her shut up in the hut. Now her fellows went saying, "Let us go for a walk, we will go and pick up wild loquots." And then she refused saying, "No, I refuse." And the next day they went, they spoke the same words, saying, "Let us go for a walk, we will go and pick up wild loquots." Then they persuaded her very urgently. Then she went out, they took her to the wild loquots. When they arrived they picked up wild loquots,

baskets filled to the brim. Now they sat resting. One of them said, "Let us make a swing, that we may swing on it." Indeed they made (one). Now they called her, saying, "You, come here, swing on the swing." But she said, "No, I refuse." Now they urged her. Now she went and climbed up. Then they saw (her) scrambling up a tree, swinging along in all the trees, swing along, swing along. Now she changed into a baboon, they tired of calling her. Now they saw her disappearing in the bush-veld, and there it was stilly quiet.

Now those who had urged her went back to the village. Now the mother said, "What about your fellow whom you let out, where has she stayed behind?" And they said, "She has gone into the bush-veld, swinging along in the trees, we have tired of calling her, she did not return." The chief said, "Those who have let out my child must bring many gifts, for it was for me the wife picked (her) up in the path." Now the wife did nothing but weep (for) the child.

<sup>1</sup> *tālukufyala* : See T.L.G. (445) No. 37. for this tense in Lamba ; T.L.G. (435) No. 7. for the positive. In Lala and Swaka these tenses not only have the meaning given by Doke, which he calls "Past Continuous," but also one which may be called "Future Continuous." e.g. *Nālukwikala bwīno uko, kansi nālukwikala bwīno kuno*, "I used to live decently there, I will continue to live decently here." It is a continuous tense which may look either backwards or forwards from the present moment.

<sup>2</sup> *-mbi* indicates "another" (different), or "a certain." *Kambi kasuwā*—"one day" is a much used phrase, the pre-prefix of *akasuwā* is dropped. In other similar phrases, such as *umbi umuntu*—"a certain man," or *kambi akantu*—"somebody," the pre-prefix is usually retained.

<sup>3</sup> *ati*+subjunctive is used in time clauses, as well as, and in the same sense as, *ili*+relative, T.L.G. (705), meaning "When—."

<sup>4</sup> The enclitic *-po* added to the verb *ukuwōna* (to see) gives it the force of "to find," or, sometimes, of "to visit."

<sup>5</sup> The conjunction *na-* (coalescing with initial vowel—if there is one—of noun, etc., to make *ne-*) is often used idiomatically with very little force, here there is some idea of "even"—"She put it even on her back." It may be found before any part of speech.

<sup>6</sup> *ukwinuka* : "to straighten the back," and so, "to stop work."

<sup>7</sup> *alukuya* : T.L.G. (435) No. 1. This tense is used in Swaka the same way as in Lamba, both with "Indefinite" and "Continuous" meanings. (This is not so in Lala, for which dialect see the following



story.) It is frequently used after an historic tense to describe what was done when the action described by the first verb had been performed. In this place *kāinuka alukuya kumusi* is lit. "he straightened up he goes to village"; the second verb is the "Present Indefinite" and not, as might be expected, in the "Past Continuous" T.L.G. (435) No. 7., when it would have been *ālukuya*. This difference is difficult to record in the case of verbs with the concord of Class 1.; it is obvious in other classes, e.g. if the concords had been of Class 5. pl. agreeing with "chiefs" (*imfumu*), the sentence would have been *kasinuka silukuya kumusi*, and not *kasinuka syālukuya kumusi*. The same idiom is used in W. Lala.

<sup>8</sup> *kamwāle* : Amongst a people who strongly desire children it is natural that great interest should be taken in the stages of growth of girls; there is a word to describe each stage. When she ceases to be merely an infant attached to her mother, she becomes a *kasimbi* (pl. *wakasimbi*), on breasts beginning to develop, she becomes a *kamwāle* (p. *wakamwāle*), she is known as this until her first child is born. Sign language makes further distinction; at first, when she is described, the fingers and thumb are extended and the points all placed close together whilst the words *amaŵele alifi* (breasts like this) are said. Later the fist is clenched with the same words. From her first period she is also known as *icisungu* or *mwāna-nsungu*.

<sup>9</sup> *wamwisalila* : Relative Habitual tense T.L.G. (441) No. 29. of the applied form of *ukwisala* (to shut) with objectival concord—"they shut her in."

<sup>10</sup> *-ŵyākwe* : an adjectival stem denoting similarity; here it indicates the other girls in the village.

<sup>11</sup> *-ntu -mo* : the root *-ntu* indicates existence, *-mo* denotes "one." Used thus together they have the meaning of "the same." e.g. *Alimbile ulwimbo luntu lumu*—"She sang the same song."

<sup>12</sup> *icitāla* : a noun of class 3, used here as an adverb. When used as a noun it indicates the characteristic in a man which leads him to acts of bravery, foolhardiness, or even of "cheek." As an adverb it means "very much." *Imfula yālilokele icitāla*—"The rain came down in sheets."

<sup>13</sup> *pāka-pāka* ; an ideophone of brim-fullness, another with the same meaning is *sululu*.

<sup>14</sup> *walukutusya* : See note 7, above.

<sup>15</sup> *nda* : ideophone of scrambling up.

<sup>16</sup> *ukusampauka* : the verb is formed from the ideophone *sāmpu-sāmpu* which indicates the action of baboons swinging from tree to tree.

Verbs which have a long penultimate *-ā-* in Lamba have *-au-* instead in W. Lala. To ask, in every case, which came first, the verb or the ideophone, is probably as idle as to ask whether the hen or the egg came first. In the W. Lala area three small urchins of four years old were observed singing an action dance invented by themselves; the left hands were held near the ground whilst the right arms were moved to and fro in a piston action. The words of the song were *po-po-po*, in groups of three, repeated over and over again. On being asked what they were hammering (*ukupopa po-po-po*), they answered with contempt that they were hammering nothing, but were pumping up bicycles (to pump—*ukupompesya po-po-po*—a word derived from the English).

<sup>17</sup> *pelekese* : ideophone of disappearance.

<sup>18</sup> *kamutontola* : historic tense with locative concord, "it was quiet in there." *bwino* : an adverb denoting carefulness and gentleness.

<sup>19</sup> *kwiswila* : the applied form of *ukwisula*, "to open." The pre-prefix has been dropped since it follows the verb *-isa* (come), it would do the same after the verb *-ya* (move away). The applied form is used with the sense of "open for," the person for whom the opening was done being *umuŵyēnu*, "the one like you." *Ukwisula* is the reversive of *ukwisala* (used above). *Aŵāiswilō-mwāna wānji*, "Those who opened for my child," i.e. "let my child out," appears below, T.L.G. (733).

<sup>20</sup> *tābwelelepo* : the enclitic *-po* is used to strengthen a negative more frequently in Swaka than it is in Lamba; in Lala it is used more frequently still.

<sup>21</sup> *nemwīne aŵakasi wātolele* : an ellipsis for *nemwīne aŵakasi eŵāntolele*, "it was for me my wife picked up."

<sup>22</sup> *ukulila* : "to cry," at the death of a person, the simple form is used and not the applied when we should say "to cry for," and expect the applied form.

\*

\*

\*

\*

## 2.

## ICISIMICISYO CĀKWE KALULU

*Kwāli kakalulu nekakasi kākako. Lomba kālīumekē<sup>1</sup>ŋanda pakati kāmpanya. Peṅkā-kalume kālilawīle ati, "Wemukasi wānji, ṅkōfwaya<sup>2</sup> ṅkasalē-ṅguŵo mumpanya." Kūmfwā-pali akakasi ati, "Kamuya, mwa-kunsanya." Lomba kālile namumpanya. Kutī<sup>3</sup> ati kēndeko, peṅka kaka-sanyana niŵanykalamo ŵalikele mbute-mbute,<sup>4</sup> ŵakolyē-nama. Lomba kālificile, kakekala ngafilya.<sup>5</sup> Lomba ŵalikasekele ati, "Mutende?"*

Nako ati, "Mutende, sikulu wēsu."<sup>6</sup> Lomba ati katusye kālilawīle ati, "Mbatī-mīsisi uŵune<sup>7</sup> kuli Wāsikulu, ī,<sup>8</sup> iēsesye ukulukē-mikulila, wemwā-ice,<sup>9</sup> ī." Kūmfwā-pali Wāykalamo ati, "Ulisi, kalulu wēsu, undukeko, ŵaine?"<sup>10</sup> Kūmfwa apokali kati, "Fwe, mwesikulu, tepakuluka,<sup>11</sup> mwemwati<sup>12</sup> iyi misisi yēnu, mweWāsikulu, aŵāiluka<sup>13</sup> tepaŵune." Kūmfwa-pali Wāykalamo ati, "Ndukako,<sup>14</sup> kalulu wēsu." Lombapo kālīkosele tō,<sup>15</sup> kuti, "Nāisa,<sup>16</sup> sikulu wēsu." Lomba kālītaticile nekuluka, kuti ati kalukeko panīni, kālilawīle ati, "Mbatī amenso uŵukali kuli Wamukolo wāmfumu,<sup>17</sup> ykōtīna, sikulu wēsu." Kūmfwa Wāykalamo ati, "Mukake." Peyka lyālīmīne<sup>18</sup> nekuŵakaka. Nakaŵili ati ndukeko panīni ati, "Amēso uŵukali kuŵāna ŵēnu, sikulu wēsu." Nakaŵili ati, "Wakake ŵōnse." Kālīŵakacile ŵōnse. Nakaŵili ati, "Mbatī amēso ēnu uŵukali, mwe-Wāsikulu." Ati, "Dkaka, kalulu wēsu, ekuti unduke bwīno." Peyka kālīŵakacile naŵo. Lomba kālīŵūlile umupini<sup>19</sup> kuti muŵalume kakaŵapama pakutwi naka,<sup>20</sup> kaŵafwa. Namuŵakasi ŵāŵo, namumwāna, ŵōnse ŵālīfwile. Lomba kālīfundile nempapa, kālīkuya<sup>21</sup> nakumusi wākako. Kālīficile nakumusi ukoāsile aŵakasi, peyka ālīŵapēle neŵakasi ŵālīkupapako.

Lomba naWacimbwi ŵālīficile apali kalulu, ŵālībŵēne Wamukakalulu ŵālīfwitē-nguŵo syāmpapa syāykalamo. Peyka ŵālīpwisye ati, "Mbasilya nguŵo, Wakalulu, mwāfumisye-pi?" Kūmfwā-pali kalulu ati, "Niykalamo nāipeye." Naŵo Wacimbwi ati, Mbamwāipeye syāni, mweŵaume<sup>22</sup> Wakalulu? Nako ati, "Mweŵo Wacimbwi, filya ifyāykalamo tafikoselepo,<sup>23</sup> iyu." Kūmfwā-pali Wacimbwi ati, "Mbanisyāni uygasipaya?" Nako kati, "Kulila<sup>24</sup> aŵāsisanga kōtemē-<sup>25</sup> ykuŵi,<sup>26</sup> kōŵala pamulume lumu lwēyika kuti naka, kaifwa, napamukasi naye lumu lwēyika, netwāna kōipaya; kōfunda nempapa, lomba ukōya fyeŵkēfyo elo kōya nakumusi." (Kansi ŵufi kakōŵacenjeleka kakalulu Wacimbwi.) Lomba naŵo ati, "Mbŵēnepo."<sup>27</sup>

Kaŵema, kaŵalokuya mumpanga ili ŵafwayē-ykalamo mumpanga. Lomba kaŵāsisanga nekūsisanga silikele ntelesya-ntelesya.<sup>28</sup> Kaŵalokusisesē-ykuŵi, kaŵapulilō-kuluposa fuku-fuku-fuku,<sup>29</sup> kalwikala<sup>30</sup> ngafilya. Nalumbi kaŵāŵūla, kaŵaposa fuku-fuku-fuku, kuti mukāna nakuŵu.<sup>31</sup> Nekulila kālīlō-mwāna ati, "Nāfwa, tata wēsu." Kūmfwā-pali ŵawisi ati, "Tali<sup>32</sup> niWacimbwi aŵafyala ŵōŵe aŵa ŵakōlombē-fupa?" Nalumbi kaŵaposa. Kūmfwā-pali Wāykalamo ati, "Ningaciseka, kampamapo, ī, naye nemwīne, wemukwāsu,<sup>33</sup> kāisiŵa ati lelo ykōfwa, kuti kāfulē-wulu, kāinjilamo." Kālōkulutola, kuti ati, "Mpose;" kuti muli ŵawisi naka. Wemwāna ŵāŵēne!<sup>34</sup> Kutu kailapuka,<sup>35</sup> kafilonga<sup>36</sup> neluŵilo. Kutu Wacimbwi ŵati, "Ncite syāni?" Wālīnjile kumucembo naŵkolo.<sup>37</sup> Lomba Wāykalamo ŵālilawīle ati, "Weŵo ulokulya neikōpona."<sup>38</sup> Lomba ŵālībŵelele Wāykal-

mo. *Peŋka wacimbwi uko ukwāinjile kumucembo kansi amasako āfukucila pakanwa kāmucembo. Lomba wālikuti ati, "Mfume ;" kawāwōnā-masako āwō, kawālawila ati, "Wakasa mulye,<sup>39</sup> mbwelele." Kawābwelela mukati kāmucembo. Namailo wati, "Dkafume, nāfwa kunsala." Kawā-saŋganā-masako āwō, kawābwelela mukati kāmucembo. Peŋka ili kawāfwa Wacimbwi kweŋkōko kumucembo, lomba uko ukwāsyele aŋwakasi wāwō wālilemene ukufwayā-wālume.<sup>40</sup> Taŋwābawēnepo pakuti kālīwācenjelekele kakalulu. Capela kasimi.*

### A STORY OF HARE

There was a little hare and his little wife. It put up a hut in the middle of the bush-veld. Now the little husband spoke saying, "My wife, I want to go and beat out bark cloth in the bush-veld." Thereupon the little wife said, "Go, you will find me (here)." Now it went into the bush-veld. Then when it had walked it fell in with lions sitting in a cluster eating game. Now it arrived, it sat as it were there. Now they greeted it saying, "Peace?" And it said, "Peace, master." Now when it had rested it spoke saying, "How beautiful the master's hair is, incredible, fit to weave plaits, lad, incredible!" Thereupon Mr. Lion said, "You know how, you'll weave it for me, truly?" Thereupon it said, "We, master, don't half weave, and you, as for this hair of yours, if they had woven it, it wouldn't half be good." Thereupon Mr. Lion said, "Weave it for me, friend Hare." Now it drew (itself) up taut, it said, "I am ready, master." Now it began to weave, then when it had woven a little, it spoke saying, "How fierce the eyes of the chief's consort are, I am afraid, master." Thereupon Mr. Lion said, "Bind her." Then he got up and bound her. And again when he had woven a little he said, "The eyes of your children (are) fierce, master." And again he said, "Bind them all." It bound them all. And again it said, "How fierce your eyes are, master." He said, "Bind me, Hare, then you will weave for me well." Now it bound him too. Then it took a handle, then on the male, on the ear, crack; he died. And on his wife, and on the child, all died. And it took off the skins and went on to its village. It reached the village where it had left the wife, and gave (them) to the wife who used to carry (the baby) on the back in them.

Now Mr. Hyæna arrived where Hare was; he saw Mrs. Hare dressed in clothes of lion skins. Then he asked saying, "What about those clothes, Mr. Hare, where did you take them from?" Thereupon Hare said, "It is lions I killed." Mr. Hyæna in his turn said, "How was it you killed, Mr. Hare, my friend?" Then it said, "Those fat lions are not difficult, Mr. Hyæna." Thereupon Mr. Hyæna said, "How is it you'd kill them?" And it said, "Surely, if you have found them, you'll



cut a piece of wood, you'll start on the male, only one (piece of wood), crack, he'll die, and on the wife, one only, and you'll kill the children; you'll take off their skins, now you go like that, then you'll go to the village." (Indeed it was lies, the little hare is deceiving Mr. Hyaena). Then he said, "I'll have a look in my turn."

He started, he went off into the bush-veld looking for lions in the bush-veld. Now he found them he did, sitting scattered about. He cut the pieces of wood, he went straight to throw one spinning, it (missed and) lay as it were there. And another he took, and he threw it spinning, and then on the little child, bash! And he cried he did, the little child, saying, "I am dead, Father." Thereupon the father said, "Isn't it Mr. Hyaena, your cross-cousin, this who is begging a bone?" And another he threw. Thereupon Mr. Lion said, "I shall retaliate, I shall hit (him), incredible, and even he himself, my friend, shall know that to-day he dies, then he'll make a hole in the sky, and he'll go in." He picked up one saying "I'll throw;" and then on the father, crack? You freeman! Then the lion rushed out and there was a stern chase at full speed. Then Mr. Hyaena said, "What shall I do?" He went into a hole, swish! Mr. Lion said, "Well, you must eat, even though food falls (from your mouth)." Then Mr. Lion went back. Now Mr. Hyaena, where he entered the hole, indeed fur had come off on the mouth of the hole. Whenever he said "I will go out;" he saw his fur, he spoke saying, "He thinks to eat me, I'll go back." He went back inside the hole. On the next day he said, "I'll go out, I am dead with hunger." He found his fur, he went back inside the hole. Now when Mr. Hyaena died, right there in the hole, where the wife had remained she got tired of seeking (her) husband. She did not see him because little hare deceived him. The story is finished.

<sup>1</sup> *kāliūmeke* : the similar words *ukwimaka* and *ukūmaka* are used by some speakers in the W. Lala with slightly different meanings; the former indicating the actual building operation, the latter the "building up" of a village. Little Hare only put up a hut, because he was so small, for himself and his wife, a truly minute village! The "building up" of a village is the ambition of most men. The result is a very large number of very small villages, each of some dozen huts belonging to matrilineal kinship groups.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the most outstanding difference between W. Lala and Lamba is the very common "Present Indefinite Tense" used by the latter; this tense uses the auxiliary *-kō-*. In Lamba the tense which uses the auxiliary *-luku-* stands for both the "Present Indefinite" and the "Present Continuous." In Lala the "Present Continuous" uses

either the auxiliary *-loku-* or the auxiliary *-luku-*, the one used seems partly to depend on the habit of the speaker, though some speakers seem to use both indiscriminately.

<sup>3</sup> *kuti* : the copulative form of the infinitive of the stem *-ti* is used as a conjunction with a time sense, "then."

<sup>4</sup> *mbute-mbute* : the ideophone of sitting in a large group in the open air.

<sup>5</sup> *ngafilya* : using this word the narrator points to some spot, "as it were there."

<sup>6</sup> *sikulu wēsu* : the possessive *-ēsu* (our), is used in this story to express friendship and respect. So we also have *kalulu wēsu* (friend Hare).

<sup>7</sup> The exclamatory conjunction *mbati*+substantive noun+substantive noun of class 7 is used in the sense of admiration. *Mbati+imisisi* (hairs)+*uwūne* (beauty), "How beautiful are the hairs."

<sup>8</sup> *ĩ* : a very common negative is here used to express astonishment.

<sup>9</sup> *wemwāice* : "you youngster"; this is a very common exclamation used between equals, it was cheek of Hare to use it to Lion, but he was pretending to be entirely overcome with admiration.

<sup>10</sup> *wāine* : indicates "you"; it is used as an exclamation and also to express agreement with a statement. A shorter form of the word is *wāi* which has the same meaning and also the meaning "Is that so?"

<sup>11</sup> *tepakuluka* : *te+pa*+a substantive noun of Class 5, 7, or 11. is a locative phrase expressing astonishment. *tepaūune* (not half good), *tepakukosa* (not half hard), *kuno tepansala* (here there is great hunger).

<sup>12</sup> The defective verb *-ti* usually in the form *ati* or *kuti* is used in various idiomatic ways. Here *mwe+mwati* expresses admiration.

<sup>13</sup> *a-* : prefixed to a verb gives the sense "if." *amwāisa*—"if you have come."

<sup>14</sup> The imperative with objectival concord changes the final "a" to "e"; T.L.G. (421). In W. Lala, however, if the objectival concord is of the 1st person sing., the final "a" is unchanged. *ndukako* : *n+luka+ko*. See also *ɣkaka*, below.

<sup>15</sup> *tō* : ideophone of tautness.

<sup>16</sup> *nāisa* : first person singular of the Immediate Past Tense of *-isa*. *Ukwisa* is used mostly with the sense of "to come." There is, however, often a fuller meaning of "coming prepared," or "coming with a purpose." The verb, too, *ukuya* which is so easily translated "to go," has not quite this simple meaning; "to go" often indicates disappearance as well as movement, whereas *ukuya* indicates move-

ment only, e.g. *Nāya, lombā ḡkōya* (I have moved, now I am moving away) is often said as a person stands up before going. In these circumstances it would make nonsense to translate the sentence "I have gone, I am going."

- <sup>17</sup> *ḡamukolo wāmfumu* : a noun of Class 1a such as *mukolo* (consort of a chief), forms its plural by prefixing *ḡa-*. This form is identical with the same word in the singular+the honorific plural. To prevent confusion the honorific plural is followed by the singular form of the possessive concord. The phrase here used means "The honourable consort of the chief" however a verb in agreement would be in the plural; *ḡamukolo ḡwāmfumu* would indicate more than one consort.
- <sup>18</sup> *lyālīmīne* : in stories about animals it is common for the prefix *li-* to be used to indicate the human character of the animals in question, e.g. *lifulwe lyālīmīne* (Tortoise set out) instead of the usual *fulwe ālīmīne*. In this story words describing Hare have been of the *ka-* Class in agreement with *kakalulu* (little hare). At this point the concord *li-* is used, as it is often used in stories about human beings, at the point where the hero, through his cunning, overcomes his difficulties; here Hare has won his point and so he is not thought of as merely "little hare," but as "The cunning young man"—*īlombe ilicenjele*, and so the concord *li-* is used in agreement with these words understood. In a similar way when heavy rain is described, the word for rain (*imfula*) is followed by *i-* concords, or if the resulting running water (*amēnda*) is in the speaker's mind the concords will be of the *a-* Class. Then suddenly without warning a concord of Class 6 sing. will be used; e.g. *Imfula yālilokele icitāla, lombā kwālītuḡvīle pamulundu tū*. "The rain came down in sheets, it lay white on the ground." The reason for the change is that the speaker is now thinking of the word *ulwēnsi* (storm-water) and so introduces a concord in agreement with this.
- <sup>19</sup> *umupini* : is the club-shaped wooden handle of an axe or hoe, the tang of the axe or hoe is inserted into a hole in the thick end. Owing to this method of construction these handles often split, and so discarded handles are to be found in the outskirts of all villages, they make handy weapons, and are often picked up in the heat of a quarrel with fatal results.
- <sup>20</sup> *naka* : the ideophone *ka* indicating a resounding hit.
- <sup>21</sup> *kālīkuya* : cf. Note 7. in Story 1. One would have expected a Present Indefinite Tense here; however since the conjunction *na-* follows, the Past Continuous Tense is used.

- <sup>22</sup> *mweŵaume* : *mwaume* (pl. *ŵaume*) is the equivalent of the Lamba *mwaŵme* (pl. *ŵāme*). (See Story No. 1. note 16).
- <sup>23</sup> Concords of Class 3 plur. are introduced. The concords of this Class (*ci-* in sing., *fi-* in plur.) are commonly used to indicate large size or quantity. When used as Possessive Concords, as here, without a substantive to indicate the thing possessed, the concords often denote contempt for fat, laziness; e.g. *Umuntu ālitskele icāmbwa* (A man kept a large fat dog), Possessive Concord of Class 3 sing. + *imbwa* (dog), cp. T.L.G. (371).
- <sup>24</sup> *kulila* : the copulative form of *ukulila* (to cry), used idiomatically to introduce a rather impatient reply. If a visitor is asked if he has eaten he will reply *Kulila nāŵonō-ŵungga ati nālya nekulya*, "if I had seen flour, I certainly would have eaten."
- <sup>25</sup> *kōtema* : For the Lamba dialect see T.L.G. (436) No. 10. and T.L.G. (424). In W. Lala these may be regarded as one tense, a tense which indicates an event which certainly happened in the past, or an event which will certainly happen in the future (cf. Note 1 of Story 1, above). It is from this meaning of certainty that the use of this tense as an imperative has grown.
- <sup>26</sup> *īṅkuŵi* : (sing. *ulukuŵi*) are any short pieces of wood, cut from a tree and trimmed, and used for throwing, either to kill a bird or animal, or to knock fruit from a tree.
- <sup>27</sup> *mbwēnepo* : the verb *ukuŵona* (to see), forms its first person singular of the Immediate Subjunctive *mbone*, meaning "let me see." Here the form *mbwēnepo* is used with the force of "let me see in my turn."
- <sup>28</sup> *ntesya-ntesya* : ideophone of sitting scattered, one here, one there.
- <sup>29</sup> *fuku-fuku-fuku* : ideophone of spinning motion.
- <sup>30</sup> *kalwikala* : *ka-* auxiliary of Historic Tense (see Note 25) -*lu-* subjectival concord in agreement with *ulukuŵi*, -*ikala* the stem of the verb which indicates "sit down." The verb *ukwikala* is used thus idiomatically of an arrow or other missile missing its mark, and so just lying on the ground.
- <sup>31</sup> *kuŵu* : ideophone of hitting with a dull thud.
- <sup>32</sup> *tali* : the prefix *ta-* is often used with verbs to ask a question which expects the answer "yes"; it is not merely the negative form of the verb, it is *ta-* prefixed to the positive form (many examples are in the conversation which is given in the next specimen).
- <sup>33</sup> *wemukwāsu* : lit. "you our fellow-clansman." The phrase can be used in addressing anyone (often in an expostulatory sense); here, of course, Lion is speaking to himself.



- <sup>34</sup> *wemwāna wāwēne* : cf. T.L.G. (736). *wemwāna* "you child"; *wāwēne* "of the owner." i.e. free person, not a slave, used as an exclamation to those who are listening to the story. cf. *Kansi wālalāya ifi? Iyu fyana fyāwēne*. "Do they eat these?" "No, they are poisonous," (used of toadstools etc.), lit. "No, they are children of the owners."
- <sup>35</sup> *kailapuka* : the concord *-i-* is that of *iykalamo* (Lion).
- <sup>36</sup> *kafilonga* : the concord *-fi-* is used with certain verbs (which have other meanings when otherwise used) to denote strenuous chase, they may be either in the Immediate Past Tense, or in the Historic Tense. *fyālonga* and *kafilonga*, *fyātēnta* and *kafitēnta*, *fyāloŵola* and *kafilowola*, *fyālalembata* and *kafilalembata*, all have this specialised sense.
- <sup>37</sup> *ḡkolo* : ideophone of a hurried bolt into a hole.
- <sup>38</sup> A proverbial saying when excusing bad behaviour in someone.
- <sup>39</sup> *mulye* : *n-mu-lye*.
- <sup>40</sup> Another version of the story adds here, *Naye kalulu ālilingwile Wamukacimbwi, embano wālalā embano wālalā*. "Hare married Mrs. Hyaena, it was they who lay, it was they who lay." This idiom of the Copulative *e* + Locative Copulative + Habitual tense, the whole repeated twice, in a plural phrase, three times in a singular, is used for busy activity. cf. *enguno wimba enguno wimba enguno wimba* (he dug with the greatest energy).

\* \* \* \*

### 3.

#### UMUTENDE WĀKALE

1. " *Mwāwōneka?* "  
" *Nāwōneka.* "
2. " *Lomba katūmfwe ifimwāēnda, wāine?* "  
" *Umo wēḡka, nipakwiwūcila kumenso kwākula, neli untu upitako, ati kambonepo awēna wānji.* "  
" *Mbaina wāine.* "
3. " *Lomba mba tepo pakulwimya.* "  
" *Tawānjēwa wāine.* "
4. " *Peḡkāpo tepakululimbasa.* "  
" *Tata we.* "
5. " *Kuŵonā-malālo temufyālo.* "  
" *Tefyo wāine.* "
6. " *Lomba ekuwōnē-ciḡgulo kāpamō-mulamba.* "  
" *Mbaina wāine.* "

7. " *Lombō-kuceŵa mumbya mulembwe, ati iṅkasya taipaya, icipaya ninsala.*"  
" *Tefyo ŵaine.*"
8. " *Kuŵona ati taŵulala kwiwulu.*"  
" *Tefyo ŵaine.*"
9. " *Epakuŵonā-ŵantu cālurŵuluka.*"  
" *Tefyo ŵaine.*"
10. " *Lomba pakuŵalolesya kusangana ŵonse cāseṅgeŵuka.*"  
" *Mbaina ŵaine.*"
11. " *Lomba ati efitūkā-ŵantu mfi, kuntu kaŵasyelemo.*"  
" *Eciṅgawama ŵaine.*"
12. " *Lomba tepo twāficilamo namuno fyālo.*"  
" *Mbakaŵili ŵaine.*"
13. " *Peṅka tepo pakūmfwā-ŵaice cili akasakaŵale.*"  
" *Ina ŵaine.*"
14. " *Pakūmfwēfyo ati nakumusi kutontwele.*"  
" *Mbaina.*"
15. " *Lomba epakumfwō-munsi wālutwila.*"  
" *Alaye.*"
16. " *Lomba mba ati icalo icikaŵile cilubwe, ŵaine.*"  
" *Tefyo.*"
17. " *Lomba mba ukuposā-mēnso muluŵansa kusanganō-twāice tulokuse-ŵekana.*"  
" *Tefyo, ina ŵaine.*"
18. " *Mbatēfyo fiŵapo icālo cāŵantu filya.*"  
" *Alaye.*"
19. " *Mbakambi akantu ukuya mumpanga inama kaifwa.*"  
" *Tefyo ŵaine.*"
20. " *Lomba mba ukulala kwiŵucilē-ciṅgulo yāisulā-kasele.*"  
" *Efimbi.*"
21. " *Lomba mumbya fyābwasaika.*"  
" *Tefyo ŵaine.*"
22. " *Tepo pakwikasakana.*"  
" *Mbaina.*"
23. " *Kūmfwa nemutima wāikala bwino.*"  
" *Alaye.*"
24. " *Lomba mba temo tulālile.*"  
" *Alaye.*"

25. " *Lomba twāti katuluwōne, tuwōne ukutwimine.*"  
" *Mbakaŵili wāine.*"
26. " *Lombō-kwēnda epakūmfwa mutoŵa ukusumaula ati oano malyo.*"  
" *Mbaina.*"
27. " *Peykō-kwēnda ekumfwē-cikumo pansi si ati oano malyo.*"  
" *Tefyo ina.*"
28. " *Mbalomba temo twāēndele.*"  
" *Alaye.*"
29. " *Lomba namufyālo twāfumine aŵēne wāmitende.*"  
" *Ina, tata we.*"
30. " *Kuwōna mba nakwāponē-cipumpula ukufwila nikumupini wēse.*"  
" *Tefyo wāine.*"
31. " *Lomba kawīli ati nacikawēfi tutembelela.*"  
" *Tefyo wāine.*"
32. " *Kuwōna mba aŵāice aŵakōtī-milimo kafwefwengga likoso, ati tamu-  
bwenē-nsala tailapundulō-kuwūtucila tekukawīle.*"  
" *Tefyo wāine.*"
33. " *Kwīwūcila mba utuntu twāwō tetwāmutende.*"  
" *Nekuwama kaciwama wāine.*"
34. " *Lomba nemfula pakwisa palyāfya nepakuposō-luwuto pansi.*"  
" *Efimbi.*"
35. " *Kuwōna mba muncita-milimo epakutoŵē-misaka.*"  
" *Tefyo wāine.*"
36. " *Kuwōna mba munsiku sitesi-wāntu ati mukafwa nakukāna kānsala.*"  
" *Tefyo wāine.*"
37. " *Kuwōna mbyēsu ati temo tuŵasīlile.*"  
" *Alaye.*"
38. " *Kūmfwa mba ngakuli umbi nganaŵaŵūla.*"  
" *Mbaina.*"
39. " *Lombō-yuŵāūmfwa ewēyga Mwāna-Musili mulyūmfwile ŵaCiŵuye  
naŵaMusonda, kawīli naŵaKunda naŵaNsilicita.*"  
" *Eciṅgawama.*"
40. " *Lomba katūmfwe nasyo ifisikōisya muno fisyo.*"
41. " *Lomba ifisyo temuno fyālo.*"  
" *Mbaina.*"
42. " *Kuwōna mba umutende tawāfya.*"  
" *Efimbi.*"

43. "Pakwiwucilō-twāice mba muluwombela."  
"Efimbi."
44. "Kuwona mba pakufilāsa ati tacili pamo luntandanya kwisile."  
"Alaye."
45. "Lomba temo tukōwucila muluwombela."  
"Alaye."
46. "Fwe twāti aṽafwa wēnji, katulokuya fwense emo tubwēne.  
"Tefyo waine."
47. "Kansi panwē-sonde tapali-fiweme."  
"Tefyo waine."
48. "Lomba mba intenda tekusitembelelē-cikulu tulimo."  
"Tefyo waine."
49. "Kūmfwa mbyesu temo tukōfumina."  
"Alaye."
50. "Nipakūmfwa ati mumpanga mwaṽa akaykobwe."  
"Alaye."
51. "Kūmfwa mba utwāice pakubwelē-cingulo ati tamuli mbwino mumpa-  
nga, uṽuci mēnda."  
"Mbaina."
52. "Kuṽona mba aṽāmbwa kalulu alikowēkele."  
"Tefyo waine."
53. "Lomba mba aṽēne, wemwīne-musi, nanga kaṽasucilile."  
"Mambo wānji."
54. "Icikulu kumusi kulī-mitende."  
"Mbaina."
55. "Kuṽona mba ifilala, ī, umufisila."  
"Tefyo waine."
56. "Lomba kuṽonē-mbuto-syo silisuminine."  
"Alaye."
57. "Mbakaṽili eciveme mucālo."  
"Tefyo waine."
58. "Lomba aṽēne teṽākṽililwa mutulimo."  
"Tefyo waine."
59. "Kuṽona muntu-kwinama āinuka ati pano nempanga yāinuka."  
"Mbaina waine."
60. "Kwiwucilō-twāice cipusi kakōlya."  
"Tefyo waine."



61. " *Kūmfwa temo twikalile.*"  
" *Tefyo waine.*"
62. " *Lomba kawili awantu wōnse tacikolya bwino.*"  
" *Tawanjeŵa.*"
63. " *Peŋka fwe tukōenda muluwōmbela.*"  
" *Ina, tata we.*"
64. " *Lomba ati pantu eficaŵa.*"  
" *Mbaina.*"
65. " *Bwīnji bwānsiku.*"  
" *Alaye.*"
66. " *Sombi mba ati tepakuti maŵindila amuwili.*"  
" *Tefyo waine.*"
67. " *Pantu tuli wēna-kufwa.*"  
" *Tefyo waine.*"
68. " *Kuwona ati cisyawasya.*"  
" *Mbaina.*"
69. " *Tacikaŵa kuli umo.*"  
" *Tefyo waine.*"
70. " *Kūmfwa mba ati ifyo tafipendwa.*"  
" *Tefyo waine.*"
71. " *Lombē-cālo cāwantu teficili ifi.*"  
" *Alaye.*"
72. " *Kuwonō-twāna imiwili ilisengetwucile.*"  
" *Tefyo waine.*"
73. " *Lomba tefitwikele ifyo.*"  
" *Ina.*"
74. " *Nipakuwona fweŵana wāluwuti kumēnso kwākula.*"  
" *Tefyo waine.*"
75. " *Lomba mba ngakuli umbi nganālaŵila, uwāūmfwa ewēŋka.*"  
" *Alaye.*"
76. " *Lomba ewēŋka uyo wāūmfwa, Mwāna-Ciwinda ati eungawama uyo mūmfwe waKunda naŵaKawamba mwīne-wantu.*"

### GREETING OF OLD TIME

1. "Are you to be seen?"  
"I am to be seen."

Two men and some small boys have been away visiting relatives at a distance. It is in the evening and they are, squatting

resting after their journey home. The headman and others come to hear what the news is from their distant relatives, they come and squat near the returned travellers and greet them with the above words. The more usual greeting to-day would be "Mutende?" "Eya, mutende, tūmfwe namweŵo kani mukōisyō-mutende." "Peace?" "Yes, peace, let us hear whether you are living at peace."

2. "Let us hear how you have walked friend."

"In complete peace, it was to recall to eyes grown homesick, never a one passing, that I said 'I will go and visit my fellow clansmen.'"

"Yes indeed, friend."

*umo wēŋka* is in concord with *umutende* (peace) understood. *Aŵēna ŵānji*: "my fellow clansmen"; the tribe is divided into exogamous matrilineal clans practising matrilocal marriage, the men had been away from their wives' village (*uŵuko*). As the travellers cast their minds back on their adventures, they speak of them in the Immediate Past Tense, they are vivid in their minds. *Mbaina*: *mba*+*ina*; *mba* is a strengthening conjunction and appears again and again in the conversation, *ina* is a Bukanda of the Lala *inya* (yes). *ŵaine* appeared in the previous story (Story 2, Note 10).

3. "That was the reason for starting the journey."

"It is as you tell me, friend."

*ukwimya* is the causative of *ukwimā* (to get up), the objectival concord *-lu-* agrees with *ukwēndo* (journey) understood. cf. *kalwēndeke* (the usual word of farewell to travellers—"may the journey proceed), and its answer, *kalusyāle* (may the journey stay behind). Throughout this conversation the syllable *ta-* (coalescing with initial vowels—if *āny-* to form *te-*) appears before all parts of speech; in the translation it will be disregarded, it is used to form a rhetorical question expecting the answer "yes," and so expressing a definite positive; the Lala do not regard it as a question, nor is the voice raised as it is in asking questions. It is impossible even to try to indicate the tones and inflections of the conversation.

4. "And so one strode along on the journey."

"Yes, sir."

The locative phrases will be translated by the indefinite "one," here it is lit. "Then there is it not at striding the (journey)." The objective concord *-lu-*referring to the journey, as above.

In the answer *tata* means "my father," but here it is a polite reply to any one.

5. "One found sleeping places in (distant) lands."

"That is so, friend."

Reference is made not only to sleeping at their destination, but to sleeps on the road, amongst strangers who might well have turned out to be dangerous since they were not fellow-clansmen, hence the word *ifyālo* (countries), where one feels so far from home and safety.

6. "One saw in the evening someone had served a large helping."

"Yes indeed, friend."

*kāpamō-mulamba* : *ukupama* (to hit) indicates the action of taking the stiff porridge out of the pot and slapping it down in the eating-basket ; *umulamba* is a large helping of porridge (*insima*) standing up like a hill.

7. "Now one saw in the relish-pot there is wild-spinach, one thinks 'Craving for meat does not kill, that which kills is hunger.'"

"That is so, friend."

On the journey people had given them plenty of porridge, but the relish given them was just leaves from the bush-veld, however they comforted themselves with the words of a proverb. The relish is cooked in a small pot and served in it. The eater takes a lump of porridge in his fingers, kneads it, and dips it in the relish, and then swallows it whole, the relish not only seasoning it but helping it to slide down. At villages of fellow-clansmen they would expect to be given meat or cultivated vegetables for relish.

8. "Indeed (night) does not stay in the sky."

"That is so, friend."

The concord *-xū-* is that of *uxūsiku* (night); in the strange village they comfort themselves with the thought that tomorrow will dawn and they will start again.

9. "Then one sees folk coming in a crowd (to greet one)."

"That is so, friend."

They have arrived in their minds at their destination. *cāluwū-luka* : *cā-* the concord of a crowd of people in the Immediate Past Tense ; *-luwūluka* "approach."

10. "Then one looks up to find all are fat-and-well."

"Yes indeed."

11. "Now one thinks 'If this is people who collect wild food in the bush-veld then they are not skin and bone.' "
- "That is right, friend."
- ukutūka* indicates the action of a starving people who can only get food by going into the bush-veld digging up roots. *kaŵasyā-lamo ka-* auxiliary of Historic Tense, *-ŵa-* concord of *aŵantu* (people), *-syāla-* "remain," *-mo* enclitic indicating presence; the thought conveyed is that the people are nice and fat (they have remained on their bones), and so there is plenty of food.
12. "(One thinks that) that is why one has arrived in these parts."
- "Certainly, friend."
13. "Then one hears all the children are shouting at play."
- "Yes, friend."
- In a peaceful, well-fed village, the children will be heard playing in the evenings.
14. "On hearing that, one thinks 'At the village there is peace.' "
- "Yes, indeed."
15. "Then one hears the pestle thumping."
- "Yes."
- In a happy village the pestle thumping in the evening makes a sound in the mortar.
16. "Then one thinks 'a country rich-in-food is not forgotten,' friend."
- "That is so."
- cilubwe* : ellipsis for *teti cilubwe*.
17. "Then one casts one's eyes to the dancing space to find the little children are chasing one another."
- "That is so, yes, friend."
18. "That is how things should be in the world of men."
- "Yes."
19. "Anybody goes into the bush-veld and game will die."
- "That is so, friend."
- kāmbi akantu* : see Note 2, Story 1. *inama* indicates meat, live or dead, the most desired food-stuff; where stock is not kept and meat can only be obtained by hunting, a shortage of game is taken to indicate the presence of ill will, either of spirits or daemons; in these circumstances the bush-veld is said to have "dried up" (*impanga yāūma*), and offerings will be made.
20. "Then one sleeps remembering that (porridge) has filled the basket."
- "Certainly."



*akasele* : small round flat basket in which the stiff porridge (*insima*, concord *i-*) is served.

21. " In the relish-pot there is well cooked (relish)."

" That is so, friend."

22. " And so one begins eating."

" Yes indeed."

*ukukasakana*, the action of wiping (the arms) brings to mind the picture of a well fed man, down whose arms the soup has run, and so at the end of a meal he has to scrape it off with his fingers. The Relative Infix in W. Lala is *-i-*, in Swaka it is *-li-* as it is in Lamba. T.L.G. (433).

The 2nd. pers. plur. of the Objective Infix in Lala is *-mu-* ; *-ini-* is not suffixed as it is in Lamba, T.L.G. (432).

23. " And so the heart is happy."

" Yes."

*ukwikala bwino* : " to sit well " indicates living at peace and in plenty.

24. " And that is how we sleep (well filled)."

" Yes."

the applied form of *ukulala* is used to suggest a well fed sleep.

25. " It was (for this) we said ' let us go a journey, we will see the place we have set out for. ' "

" Certainly, friend."

*ukutwona ukwendo* (to see a journey) is the usual phrase to describe the action of travelling.

26. " As one went one felt the tooth throbbing, and knew that it was an omen of good eating."

" Yes, indeed."

27. " As one went one felt one's toe scrape the ground, and one knew it was an omen of good eating."

" That is so, friend."

Omens are numberless, in these last two remarks two have been given. It is an omen which fortells that one will soon have good food if a back tooth throbs, it is another if when one is walking one inadvertantly scrapes one's toe on the ground."

28. " That is how we travelled."

" Yes."

29. " Also in the (distant) countries the inhabitants were at peace."

" Yes sir, yes."

30. "Although there has come a famine (one's) dying (effort) is with the handle of a hoe."

"That is so, friend."

The cause of the journey was lack of food in the wives' village where they live, and to which they have now returned. In the two months before harvest the paths are much used by those who are going to the villages of relations, hoping to find food, which is not obtainable at home. The applied form of the verb *ukufwa* to die in the somewhat cryptic remark indicates although one be dying of hunger one must die holding a hoe handle (i.e. hoeing the new seasons crop). The next few remarks are intended to rub in the difference between this, the wives' village, and the village of their clansmen which they have been visiting. In this and the following remark the conjunctive *na-* has the definite fore of "although."

31. "Again one thinks "although this is so we must not be slack." "

"That is so, friend."

32. "(To) children who work just entirely lazily one says 'You see hunger dishonours (by making one) run where food is.' "

"That is so, friend."

A few remarks follow for the benefit of their children who are listening; it being a matrilineal society the children belong to the mothers' family. *likoso* is the equivalent of the Lamba *lukoso*. *tailapundula*: if the *ta-* had been a true negative the auxiliary *-la-* would have been dropped; see T.L.G. (435) No. 4. and T.L.G. (444) No. 34. (See Note 3, above.)

33. "One remembers how their little relatives are happy."

"That is good friend."

the stem *-ntu* indicates existence and so the children of the other village are referred to by *utuntu*, in silent contrast with those who are sitting listening.

34. "If rain comes there is lacking a (prepared) place to throw a seed in.

"Certainly."

35. "The hard worker is breaking dried gourds (to get seed for sowing)."

"That is so, friend."

Comparison is made with the hard working village.

36. "For at a time unknown to man one thinks 'You will die of famine.' "

"That is so, friend."

*insiku sitesi-wantu*: "days which men know not," some time in the future. *akāna kānsala*: "a small child of hunger," famine.

37. "Our relatives, that is how we left them."

"Yes."

The news is coming to an end, so the speaker goes back to where he was speaking of his relatives. *mbyēsu* : lit. "the one like us" but used of one's relatives.

38. "If there was other (news) I would have told you."

"Yes, indeed."

39. "That which you have heard, Citizen, is all, you hear Cibuye and Musonda and you Kunda and Nsilicita."

"That is right."

*Mwāna-Musili* : *umusili* indicates "soil" in its aspect of the place in which food is grown ; *Musili* is the name of the mythical "King of men" who has his village underground, it is also the name of the most famous ancestress of the *Nyēndwa* clan which is the ruling clan of the Lala. The term "Chiid of Musili" is used of a Native of the locality.

40. "Now let us hear how those here are spending their lives."

The *si-* concords are in agreement with *imfumu* (pl. chiefs) Since the term is used of those who are not of the royal clan, it is used as a term of respect. *icisyo* : indicates "ones days," "ones life."

41. "(Our) lives are in this land."

"Yes indeed."

The statements are now made by the village headman, the answers by the visitors.

42. "Peace is lacking."

"Certainly."

43. "One remembers how the children are ailing."

"Certainly."

44. "One considers that it isn't only on one side that hunger has come."

"Yes."

45. "Here one one wakes up just to ail."

"Yes."

46. "We say 'Those who die are many, we are all going the same way in which we see (them go).'"

"That is so, friend."

47. "Indeed here below there is nothing good."

"That is so, friend."

In W. Lala the final *-o* of a word may coalesce with the initial *ĩ-* of the following word : *pano ĩsonde* > *panwē-sonde*. *muno Ilala* (here in the Lala country) > *munwē-Lala*.

48. "Sickness makes slackness, seeing we are in (the world below)."  
 "Certainly, friend."  
*icikulu* : lit. "the big thing," is used to introduce a phrase with the meaning of "since."
49. "But, relatives, we go forth (to work)."  
 "Yes."
50. "One hears that in the bush-veld there are tree flowers."  
 "Yes."
51. "But the children come back in the evening saying there is no goodness in the bush-veld, the honey is water."  
 "Yes indeed."

In the previous remark the flowers are, of course, the flowers from which the bees get honey, seeing them the people expect to be able to find plentiful honey. The children set out and the holes in the trees where the bees live are empty of comb. The honey has not turned to water, but instead of finding honey all they have been able to put in their stomachs is a drink of water from a stream. Note the idiomatic use of *mbwino*.

52. "The dog owners (have) a hare hanging."  
 "Certainly, friend."  
 Some men with dogs go out in the bush-veld to look for game, when they come back all they have is a miserable hare hanging on one of their spears.
53. "It is their affair, O village headman, even though they go off."  
 "My Lord."

*awēne* : some uses of the stem *-ine* have already been noticed. (See Story 2, Note 34.) If one questions a Lala about the reasons for somebody else's action, the answer will probably be a shrug and the word *awēne*—"the owners," "that's their affair." *mwine-musi* is the same stem with a concord of Class 1, the phrase being used of the headman of the village kinship group, who is chosen by the villagers with the chief's consent. Here the headman is speaking to himself, it is for this reason that the vocative is in the singular. *mambo* is a term of very respectful assent as used to a ruling-chief. The great dread of every headman is that he shall lose people from his village, he is here speaking resignedly of what may happen through their misfortunes.



54. "The great thing is peace in a village."  
 "Yes indeed."
55. "The drought, incredible, how it has come."  
 "Certainly, friend."
56. "The seeds had sprouted."  
 "Yes."

*silisuminine* : *ukusumina* (to consent) has an applied form *ukusuminina*, it is used in such phrases as *icālo cāsuminina* (the land has consented to me) with the idea that owing to my ability to find game in the bush-veld, and because the seeds have sprouted in my garden, I know that the land consents to me living in it. Here the seeds have shown their consent by sprouting and now they are in danger owing to the drought mentioned in the last remark.

57. "But it is well in the land."  
 "Certainly, friend."
58. "The inhabitants linger at their work."  
 "Certainly friend."

Perhaps owing to under nourishment, combined with the fact that for the most part the Lala's ideal is to fill his belly once a day, if possible, with a mass of undercooked starchy porridge, he tends to be gloomy in his outlook. The speaker is now beginning to brighten up a little, but it does not last long. *awēne* : "the owners" is used of the inhabitants of his village. Although it is evening, as he looks round, he sees some have yet not come back from the fields; they must be still at work. It is typical of the Lala that he should call "work" *utulimo* (the little words), he looks upon all work as a most regrettable necessity.

59. "The *muntu-kwinama* has unbent, one thinks, 'Now the bush-veld has unbent.'"  
 "Certainly, friend."

*muntu-kwinama* is a herb about six feet high which grows on ant-hills. It has a white flower which hangs down until the seeds set about March; its unbending is a sign that food will soon become available from the relenting earth. The name is also connected with the use of the herb for curing idiocy; a concoction is made, the idiot is made to bend down and the concoction is poured over him. The plant is also used for medicine for those whose "heads are bowed with woe," such as widows and widowers; it is said to lift them up just as the flowers turn up when they have set seed. The name means "the bending man."

60. "One remembers that the children are eating pumpkins."

"That is so friend."

the plural *utwāice* is followed by a verb (*kakōlya*) in the singular ; one here and there is eating. *cipusi* : pumpkin is the first food available. The time would be the beginning of March when the pumpkins are ready and the maize is beginning to harden. Maize is used only as something to tide over the time until the millet harvest, it is eaten roasted on the cob and not ground into flour.

61. "That is how we are living."

"Certainly, friend."

62. "Again, all the people are eating well."

"It is as you tell me, friend."

63. "But we go about ailing."

"Yes sir, yes."

It should be remembered that even in one village, since there is no trading in food, in a specialised sense, only begging from relatives in times of hunger, one family may be near starvation while another may have just enough. The headman has been looking at some of his more fortunate people and now returns to his own affairs (malaria ?).

64. "For that is how things are."

"Yes certainly."

65. "Innumerable days."

"Yes."

66. "One thinks 'It is because of tiredness of body.'"

"Certainly, friend."

67. "For we are clansmen of death."

"Certainly, friend."

68. "One thinks 'It is generation (after generation).'"

"Yes certainly."

69. "It will not happen to one (man only)."

"Certainly friend."

70. "Those (troubles) are countless."

"Certainly, friend."

71. "The world of men is like that."

"Yes."

72. "But the children are fat in the body."

"Certainly, friend."

73. "That is how we live."  
"Yes."
74. "We see (you), we are brothers, with eyes grown lonely."  
"Certainly, friend."  
*awāna wāluwuti* : children who are "steps and stairs," here the term is used by the headman to express his pleasure at seeing the travellers again.
75. "If there was other (news) I would have spoken, that which you have heard is all."  
"Yes."
76. "It is just that which you have heard, hunters, saying, "That is good," hear O Kunda and Kabamba, lords."  
*Mwāna-Ciwinda* : a praise name for a hunter. *mwine-wantu* : "owner of people" is an honourable form of address. As these last words were spoken, the headman and those with him gently clap their hands in polite thanks.

\* \* \* \*

#### NOTE ON PAST AND FUTURE

It is a commonplace that in Bantu languages there is no word which is equivalent to "time" in European languages; there is no idea of "time passing," or future or past time. Certainly some events *have* happened and others *will* happen and perhaps we may be justified in talking about Past and Future Tenses. Also some activities go on and on; we call the tenses which describe these activities as Past, Present, and Future Continuous. How is it that the Bantu can describe activities and units of time which are to us either past or future and require to our minds two tenses or words, by one tense or word only?

We have said above that in Lala at least there is (1) a Past and Future "Historic" Tense—See story 2, note 25. Also there is (2) a Past and Future Continuous Tense—See story 2, note 16. There is also a third (3) tense which is used to describe events both in the past and in the future, a Past and Future Progressive Tense using the auxiliary *-āci-*—cp. T.L.G. (438).

Words to denote units of time in both past and future include *mailo* : yesterday and tomorrow, *masosi* : the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, *kale* : a past moment and a future moment, and *mwāceso* : last season and next season.





# FATHER OF THE MAN

By C. J. OPPER

Of recent years there has been much study of the institutions of primitive society but less emphasis on the study of society itself. Probably the chief reason for this is that any particular form of society cannot be studied minutely during a limited period of investigation, while its institutions can. Only an intimate knowledge of "the seven ages of man" throughout his human journey can give a true picture and there are few students of primitive society with the knowledge or indeed the opportunity to make this study.

Similarly, a true picture of an indigenous system of education demands a wide knowledge of the tribe's cultural system at work. Its value and effectiveness cannot be assessed merely by an examination of the institutions through which it operates, nor can a thesis for its adaptation and enrichment be developed on this restricted evidence. For example, the best educational system for an English boy could not be devised from a study of British mercantile law nor of such institutions as kingship, the funeral behaviour of the working class, or the Englishman's Sunday. We must leave the Englishman's institutions, in spite of their obvious interest to the sociologist, and examine the *man* under the glass; his attitude towards organised religion and his neighbours, his sense of the obligations of leadership, his naive belief in the efficiency of patent medicines (anthropologists should start reading here) and an almost endless list of traits and temperamental attributes which make up his human equipment. Dr. Raum's study\* of the educational system of the Chaga people owes its great value to his extended study of the people themselves and the insight it has given him into their life at all periods of the human cycle.

While the emphasis is on the Chaga child, the book's real importance lies in its sub-title, "a description of indigenous education in an East African tribe." The required background and opportunity for sociological research are usually denied to "the pedagogue grappling with the pressing problems of school administration and organisation" and "the teacher coping with the difficult task of adjusting his method to the mentality of the pupil." Yet, as the author shows, it is important that there should be available data and the fruits of research which can be

---

*Chaga Childhood.* A description of indigenous education in an East African tribe. By O. F. Raum. London: Oxford University Press for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. 1940. 21s. 422 pp.

related and interpreted by the educationist in his attempts to find an educational system for his African child which has roots in a primitive past and throws out branches to that future of change and upheaval which "progress" and "civilisation" and, be it added, "Christianity" have rendered inevitable.

Part I consists of a comprehensive survey of the works of previous writers in this field. A list of these, with Dr. Raum's comments on their theories, would be impossible within the scope of this review but some of his most interesting summaries are noted here. He casts doubt on the belief that at puberty a general stagnation of psychic development takes place. He summarises the conclusions of earlier observers of that "savage childhood" of which Kidd wrote with such clarity and understanding, namely, "the excessive importance of memory and imitation, early 'practical' skill, lack of the instinct of curiosity and speculation and, as a result, defective logical norms." He warns against the danger of over-simplification in sociological study and points out that "little is gained by dubbing a whole culture by the term 'mother-right' or 'father-right'" when, as often happens, some things such as inheritance and descent are matrilineal, and others, such as succession in professions are patrilineal. Furthermore, there is much in his argument, that the anthropologist lacks the time to watch the African's slowly developing life, in which can be found the answer to many educational problems, rather than in piecing together the cross-sections made at various crises in his life cycle. He notices, too, that education has often been taken as "implying the Native's capacity for acquiring *our*, not his own, cultural possessions."

This section concludes with the definition of education which is to guide the author in his researches. He accepts education as "the relationship between members of successive generations." The definition is wider and less specific than might be expected, but is defended in its allowance of facts ignored without justification in educational theory and because it avoids the concept of education as a process to be completed at a certain age. Of the definitions of education, however, there is no end and Dr. Raum's is probably as suitable for a study of indigenous education as the one that education is "what remains when all ever learnt is forgotten" may be for the English public school system.

Part II is called "The Entry of the Child Into Society" and traces the development of social relationships during the period when the family, from which the child will spring, is being fashioned. This period involves some training in "controlled sex experience" with the aim of avoiding premarital pregnancies. This is clearly an important

subject for study, as is felt by most educationists in Africa who are striving to fill in the background for a curriculum of sex-teaching, built on the Christian ethos of purity and self-control and related to the demands of civic virtue.

We pass from courtship and early marriage with the complicated set of family relationships and customary practices that the new union has engendered, to the birth of the first child.

Part III deals with infancy and the educational influences which bear upon the child from birth upwards. There is an important and interesting analysis of the development of speech which might apply, in its definition of the processes involved, to any African child or indeed to the child of any race.

Part IV traces the child's development from infancy to adolescence and covers that period of his life when educative processes are most active. We see the influence on the child's life and behaviour of life at the grand-parental home, to which he is often sent at the time of weaning. Grandparents are doubtless the same from Kilimanjaro to Killarney and their regimen is marked by an indulgence which leaves its mark on the child, as does the store of wisdom and experience they share with him.

In the examination of life at the parent's home we see the child's relations with its parents conditioned by the strains and discords of the polygamous home. This is, of course, a situation which is changing profoundly and fast and in doing so is producing a whole set of adjustments within the family unit. It is, however, in family relationships that the educational process is first seen at work. Great stress is laid upon the etiquette of terms of address, expressions of greeting and other polite usages. The elaborate system of kinship etiquette clearly has an educational function, as have the food prohibitions and those which reinforce the system of division of labour.

Outside the family circle, the child's education is continued through the agency of tribal activities and institutions. "Through their participation in farm work, the Chaga boy and girl are introduced to the cycle of the annual activities of the tribe." The experience of the tribe is incorporated in its riddles and proverbs. Indeed "no palaver, no conversation lacks the salt of proverbs." While the younger children are told stories, older children, from about fourteen onward, are taught in proverbs. Song is also an important instrument of teaching. It is a "didactic form which ensures the retention of the subject matter."

The value of play in the training of children has been recognised the world over and most educational systems have utilised this source of

energy for their own purposes. But even when it is not harnessed to an educational system it is educational in its effects. Imitative play, which forms a large part of all play activity, copies adult life and prepares for adult activities. In most cases it requires the presence of a number of performers and through it the child is drawn into a community of contemporaries. From that evolves the play group and from that again opportunities for leadership and familiarity with the concepts of cohesion within the communal grouping, obedience to the leader and loyalty to the brotherhood. The importance of these is enhanced by the play group's tendency to become exclusive and esoteric. One of the means of attaining this end is the widespread use of language distortion, which is clearly used to differentiate the play group from the general society. One suspects, however, that the author places upon word perversions a social emphasis which they do not deserve. Their production is a common phenomenon of childhood which perhaps has little more significance than a desire to exploit to its limits the newly acquired power of oral self-expression.

As is to be expected, the toys made are illustrative of the activities and interests of adult life. Yet while toys of dolls and cattle still abound, motor cars and bicycles are on the increase. As Dr. Raum notes, "juvenile anticipation takes the child beyond the possibilities of his own culture and enables him to adapt himself more easily to the objects of the superimposed culture."

Part IV is called "Adolescence." In it we see the ways in which the young men and women are prepared for full membership of the tribe. There is also much emphasis on the changing relationship between parents and children, the strains caused by the youth's growing feeling of independence from parental control, the covert conflict between the older generation and the younger which is to take its place.

At this point the developmental rites are taken and examined throughout the life cycle. The author stresses the point made by Dr. Richards in her study of "Bemba Marriage and Present Economic Conditions" that the rites of African life are not confined to two or three isolated events or crises in life history. They are part of a continuous educative process culminating in certain ritual practices but developing by continuous gradations the whole time.

Circumcision and initiation, "the tribal pedagogic institution par excellence," are shewn to play a most important part in indigenous education, as is to be expected. They signalise the child's entry into the full life of the tribe and apart from the knowledge and instruction imparted at these times, the ceremonies serve the purpose of hardening



and disciplining the initiated. Youths then find themselves free from parental control. The rites also emphasise the solidarity of the age group which in itself represents some weakening of family influences. This section also has some interesting observations on vocational training. Entry into the work of herdsman, beekeeper, blacksmith, magician and many other occupations involves much preparation and elaborate rites.

By the end of this part we have gone full cycle and noted the educational process working throughout the human sequences. "Starting with the definition that education is the relationship between successive generations, we have watched the vicissitudes of this relationship from the birth of an individual to the death of his parents and the moment when he himself is about to become a parent."

The last part summarises Dr. Raum's conclusions. The three important agents of indigenous education are the family, the age-group and the tribe. The family, while being the unit of social and economic life is also the basic educational agency. The age group evolves its own social organisation and creates its own culture to satisfy its needs. In it the child learns the basis of relationships with his contemporaries. He also acquires a sense of hostility towards adults. (There is perhaps some over-emphasis of this feature of the age group). Finally there is the tribe with its contribution to education of those elements which make for social cohesion. Particular educational ideals belong to each, tradition and solidarity to the family, creativeness to the age group, organisation and co-operation to the tribe.

The author's conclusion is that the tribal system of education which he has examined is much more comprehensive than the narrow scholastic education of the European pattern. European education comprises more formal instruction with emphasis on individual prowess and "feats of skill and intellect." The educational system of the tribesman is directed towards the preservation and transmission of the important components of tribal culture with emphasis on co-operation for common ends.

It is for the educationist to find the sound and healthy elements in Native social life and to adapt them in the light of the alien educational system. And here we are again up against the need for more environmental data. Its value in methodology as well as in the wider field of purposes and principles needs little stress.

---

<sup>1</sup> Miss M. Wrong in a recent article has emphasised the importance of recognising the family as 'the educational unit par excellence' (the phrase is from *Chaga Childhood*). She suggests that more might be done to effect co-operation between the school and the home and illustrates from experiments now being carried out along these lines in America.—The Educational Approach to the Family, *Oversea Education*, January, 1941

Culture contact with its attendant problems provides many sources of stimulus and many indices of useful approaches to educational problems. Adaptation is desirable and indeed inevitable and is most successful when related to tribal institutions. The author shows the importance in the process of acculturation of the tribal school, craft training, local latitude in the matter of syllabuses and the teaching of English.

It would, however, be a mistake to regard the Chaga as a tribe outside the orbit of effective European culture. They are in fact in fairly close contact with such influences. It must therefore have proved difficult if not impossible for Dr. Raum to isolate those elements in the Chaga educational system which are purely tribal and indigenous. Acculturation works in most mysterious ways, with covert but indistrutable force. The work of selection, of disentangling what was homespun from what was imported may on occasion have proved a task which might well have baffled a Solomon or indeed a Malinowski.

The result is an important study, sincerely and convincingly carried through, which should find a place on the bookshelf of all African educationists beside *The School in the Bush*. To add the belief that it will not collect dust there is a higher tribute than it sounds.

# PROBLEMS IN CLASSIFYING LITERATURE ON THE BANTU

By JULIAN ROLLNICK

The new bibliography<sup>1</sup> on South African Native Life is not only a useful work of reference : it is also an instructive illustration of the difficulties and problems that arise in the classification of knowledge in this sphere.

The work is designed "to direct attention to the sources which, because of their actual content or special historical interest, ought in our opinion to be consulted by anybody making a fairly close study of some phase of tribal culture, or of the problems arising from the contacts between Europeans and Natives." While admittedly not exhaustive, the lists are detailed and comprehensive, and cover literature published up to and including the year 1938.

The various sections were compiled and contributed by experts, but the final arrangement and selection was the responsibility of Professor I. Schapera.

The *Bibliography* is comprehensive and compact. For the first time there has been published a single volume to which a great number of experts in various fields can turn, with a comforting feeling of certainty that the most important references have been listed ; and that, if they look carefully enough, they are not likely to miss anything relevant. To librarians in particular this book will be useful in providing a sound guide to a field of closely related studies.

The purpose of this review is to criticise the system of classification used in those two sections of the *Bibliography* called, respectively, Ethnography, and Modern Status and Conditions. No attempt has been made to deal with the selection of individual references ; nor has the reviewer considered the sections on Physical Anthropology, Archaeology and Linguistics, which he is not competent to discuss.

The division of the references into two major groups—Ethnography and Modern Status and Conditions—will be referred to as the primary classification ; and the further sub-divisions of each will be referred to as the secondary classifications.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Select Bibliography of South African Native Life and Problems*. Compiled for the Inter-University Committee for African Studies under the direction of I. Schapera. London : Oxford University Press. 1941. 249 pp 12s. 6d

The section on Ethnography is divided as follows :

1. General Works and Comparative Studies. 2. Bushmen.
3. Hottentots. 4. Bergdama. 5. Bantu (General). 6. Ambo.
7. Herero, and so on for other tribes, each of which has its own sub-section.

The section on Modern Status and Conditions is divided as follows :

1. General Works. 2. Policy. 3. Administration and Law.
4. Economics. 5. Education. 6. Religion and Missions.
7. Health and Social Services. 8. Culture Change.

The rather indefinite section title "Modern Status and Conditions," in contrast with the more specific and conventional "Ethnography" provokes an enquiry into the basis of the primary classification used. A knowledge of the recognised scope of Ethnography, and the appearance of the word "Modern" suggests that the division might have been made on the basis of traditional life, on the one hand, and contemporary life, on the other. This assumption is to some extent confirmed and justified by an examination of the main headings in the secondary classification, and of the individual references listed.

In criticising the primary classification, these two questions may be asked : (a) has this principle of classification been consistently applied ? and (b) is it the most convenient and useful classification that could have been used ?

In answer to the first, it must be noted that certain references listed under Modern Status and Conditions give information on Bantu traditional life ; e.g. S.A. Native Affairs Comn. 1903-05 (M35) ; *de Kiewiet's* Social and Economic Developments in Native Tribal Life (M309) ; *Stafford's* Native Law as practised in Natal (M354) ; and the Report of the Natives Land Commission, 1916, (M443).

While the above illustrations cannot be multiplied indefinitely, and while, in addition, the professional Ethnographer might not find them of great value in the comparative study of tribal custom, the reverse is much more striking : there are a much greater number of items listed under Ethnography which have reference to contemporary conditions—to quote but a few : *van Warmelo's* Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of S.A. (E 233) ; *Lestrade's* Some Aspects of the Economic Life of the S.A. Bantu (E247) ; *Junod's* Life of a S.A. Tribe (E683) ; *Schapera's* The Social Structure of the Tswana Ward (E513) ; *Steyt's* The BaVenda ; and many others.

These few examples must suffice to show that this system of classification has been applied in an inconsistent manner.



This means that anyone who uses the *Bibliography* for a study of the traditional life of the Bantu will find most of the references listed under Ethnography ; but that anyone studying contemporary conditions will be forced to scrutinize both sections thoroughly.

This inconvenience is intensified when it is realized that the secondary classification used for each section is different : Modern Status and Conditions is divided according to the usual sociological subject headings ; Ethnography, on the other hand, with the important exception of the sub-section dealing with general works, is subdivided along tribal lines, and all references listed under each tribal group would have to be scrutinised for a study of any contemporary situation or problem.

Coming now to the second question—could a more useful classification have been devised ?

Before answering this, the purpose of such a Bibliography must be determined. How, and by whom, will it be used ? This is the basic and most difficult stage in devising any principle of classification. Once the purpose has been defined, the various divisions usually follow.

How, then, will this work be used ?

There will be, of course, Ethnographers who will want to know of all that has been written on the traditional culture of the tribe they are to study. To them is available a comprehensive bibliography (in *Bantu Studies*, 1934), classified on a tribal basis, which covers literature produced up to 1933 ; and publications subsequent to 1933 will have been covered by one of the regular quarterly bibliographies on African Ethnography in journals—notably that in *Africa*. Ethnographers are therefore well catered for.

But there are many others, such as economists, political scientists and other social scientists ; doctors and agricultural scientists ; social workers, missionaries, administrative officials, teachers, trade union officials, and statesmen ; Government commissions of enquiry, departmental committees, public conferences, and research institutions—to mention but a few.

What will they be interested in ? They will want literature that may guide them and give them the experience of others in such matters as : the conditions and methods of improvement of Native agriculture and stock raising ; existing medical and hospital services and their development, as well as customary methods of treating the sick ; the tribal system of land tenure, how it has been experimented with in the past and how it can be improved ; the form and functions of Native marriage and the

family, and how these are being changed ; the changed conditions of tribal life ; traditional government and how this may be adapted into more up-to-date councils and administration ; tribal religion in its relation to mission work ; the care of the physically unfit and the poor in tribal life, and the transformation into a system of State social services ; tribal law and its application ; migration ; history and social trends ; and so on.

In the majority of cases the research work and information sought will be concerned with the present and the future of the eight million Natives living and working in South Africa to-day. And in most of the social problems that arise, it will be necessary to know something of the social background of the people—of their indigenous social structure—so that the policies evolved will not fail through being strange. But the main purpose of the knowledge desired will be, broadly, the planning of social progress and improvement ; it will be knowledge for action.

And if the knowledge is for action, then bibliographies must assist the attainment of this kind of knowledge, and the classifications and categories used must never lose sight of this aim.

There is no need to invent such a classification. It is to be found as the contents list of any good ethnographic field monograph or sociological text book. It has, in the main, been used in the secondary classification of the section on Modern Status and Conditions.

This classification has been frequently used, continually refined, and has passed the test of soundness and convenience ; it has been to some extent amended to accord with the special conditions and literature of Native life in South Africa ; it splits the material up into a manageable number of divisions ; and above all, it is useful to the great majority of persons who would use the bibliography, and therefore justifies its purpose.

The *Bibliography* would have been much more useful, and therefore better, if the material contained in the two sections Ethnography and Modern Status and Conditions had been combined and then classified as in the latter section.

The traditional concept " primitive " is tending to become out-of-date and of doubtful value—especially in a country like South Africa, with at least four major racial groups living in intimate contact.

It is obviously desirable for as many social scientists to study social problems as possible ; they might do so as specialists in Economics or Political Science, or they might do so as Sociologists or Social Anthropologists. But Social Anthropologists, especially, will need to remember that their field of study has been delimited on a somewhat artificial and arbitrary basis. It is not a special sphere of social life, but covers all

aspects of the social life of one group, in this case, the Bantu. For this reason they cannot afford to ignore the studies by Sociologists of other racial groups, of their methods of presentation of field material, their different approaches, their classifications.

Nor should the Social Anthropologist forget that specialist social scientists will make use of his material, for their fields of study will probably cut across all racial groups.





## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Phonetic and Tonal Structure of Kikuyu*, by Liliás E. Armstrong.  
London : Oxford University Press for the International Institute  
of African Languages & Cultures, 1940, xviii + 363 pp. 12s. 6d.

The foreword to this monumental work, written by Professor Daniel Jones, pays a worthy tribute to the work and scholarship of the author, the late Miss Armstrong, who was Reader in Phonetics at the University of London, and whose death in December 1937 "deprived the linguistic world of one of its most outstanding personalities." Apart from the work under review, Miss Armstrong (Mrs. S. Boyanus) will be known particularly for her *Phonetics of French* and her *Phonetic Structure of Somali*. The Kikuyu manuscript was not quite complete at the time of her death and a debt is owed to Miss B. Honikman for her revision and preparation of the work for the printer.

The book may be divided into two parts, (1) Phonetics (pp. 1-47) and (2) Tonetics (pp. 48-297), with certain pages of texts following. Miss Armstrong made use of Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, the author of *Facing Mount Kenya*, while he was employed by the Department of Phonetics at University College. The tones are marked throughout by the employment of level or sloping strokes at various heights indicated in brackets after the word or phrase. Long vowels are indicated by doubling. Regarding the vowels Miss Armstrong writes: "They strike one as lacking in crispness and precision."

Significant vowel length (as in Lamba) is recorded as a feature of Kikuyu; in some cases both length and tone constituting the difference between words otherwise phonetically alike. Nevertheless it is noted the lengths of syllables may vary due to the proximity of a nasal consonant or a change of tone. From page 16 onwards is a careful exposition of vowel sequence; but the author has obviously not tackled the question of basic word-division in Kikuyu, for she still separates the possessive concords and other prefixal formatives from the succeeding word. Another interesting parallel with what occurs in Lamba is the fact that the voiced explosive *b*, *d*, *g* and the affricative "*j*" only occur in nasal compound as *mb*, *nd*, *ng* and *nj*; these compound forms are regarded as constituting phonemes (p. 31). A glance at the chart on page 31 reveals that the fricatives are almost entirely voiced. It is evident that the Kikuyu language regards,  $\delta$  as unvoiced, and *h* as voiced, judging from the operation of Dahl's law in connection with these consonants (see Miss Armstrong's remarks in §§109 and 112, and the examples on pages 45-47), where *ko-hota* is found (not *yo-hota*) and *ye- $\delta$ aka* (not *ke- $\delta$ aka*).

Very sound suggestions are given in this section (and again on pages 354-5) upon the question of orthography, including the use of *b*, *d* and *g* for *v*, *δ* and *γ* on the understanding that they are weak fricatives unless compounded with nasals, as *mb*, *nd*, *ng*. On pages 40-44 are given rules of nasal change, with the interesting reduction of *nd* to *n*, *mb* to *m*, etc. when a nasal consonant occurs in the following syllable; this reduction is parallel to what occurs in Lamba when a nasal compound is in the following syllable. Dahl's law of dissimilation, as it affects Kikuyu, is illustrated on pages 45-47.

The major part of the book (pp. 48-297) is concerned with Tone. Miss Armstrong has, in this, blazed a new trail in the treatment of Bantu grammar. Similar work has been done by Beach in the Hamitic Hottentot and by Miss Ward in the Sudanic Efik and Ibo languages; but this is the first detailed tonal-grammatical treatment of a Bantu language. The work has been most carefully carried out. In Chapter VII the verbs are divided into five tonal classes well illustrated, and the tonal conjugations of these five classes are worked out in detail illustrated by sixteen tenses on pages 67-167. It is interesting to note that the tone pattern for Miss Armstrong's Class II of verbs is the same as that in Zulu for verbs of more syllables than two, i.e. 3.2.9., 3.3.2.9, etc. in the numerical notation of tones. Miss Armstrong followed Barlow's example in giving only the first class of the third person in the tense forms.

After this is a treatment of the tonal classes of nouns, three tonal classes being treated in detail, typified by *moondo* (man), *mote* (tree) and *ygoko* (fowl). Other noun types in less detail follow. Adjectives are dealt with on pages 263-288. Stress and Emphasis occupy Chapters XXIII and XXIV. Regarding the former the author writes: "It is unlikely, in languages in which tone and length have a significant function, that stress also has a significant function." This is certainly the case in Bantu, where the function of stress is that of word-adhesion. Illustrative texts fully tone-marked occupy pages 299-353.

This is a very important work, and should prove to be a valuable guide for workers in other Bantu languages. The printing and presentation leave nothing to be desired.

C.M.D.

*Inleiding tot die Studie van Suid-Sotho*, deur B. I. C. van Eeden.  
Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1941. 283 pp., 11s. 9d.

This is a most welcome publication, and must be considered the best Afrikaans Grammar of a Bantu language yet written. It is very full and thorough, and embodies a much more up-to-date treatment of Sotho

than any Sotho Grammar has done hitherto. The growth of interest in the study of Sotho among the Afrikaans-speaking, particularly in the Orange Free State, is very marked to-day; and this Grammar should go a long way to provide a growing need in such study. Of special merit is Professor Eeden's very full treatment of the verb with the recognition of the participial as a mood. Perhaps further consideration will convince him that it would be even better to call it a "sub-mood," since the participial contributes forms corresponding to the potential as well as the indicative. The allocation of a chapter (XXXIII) to the "ideofoon of klankdeeld" is a welcome addition in Sotho grammar, and we are especially grateful for the paragraph (on page 216) giving a number of verbs formed from ideophones. These are admittedly rare in Southern Sotho, and to them might be added *leke!la* from *leke*. The closeness in morphological use between the relative stems and adverbs, both of which may be directly preceded by relative concords and subject concords, has been noted on page 73. The treatment of the verbal derivative forms in Chapter XXX is very full and the nomenclature an improvement on what Jacottet used. The author, however, must be criticised when he states (p. 216) that the reflexive infix is so closely connected to the verb stem that the form may be considered as a verbal derivative. The reflexive infix is, in fact, an immutable objectival concord, and this can be proved from the imperative; for instance, the imperative of *hō-ipōna* is not *ipōna* but *ipōne*.

It is a pity that the author depended to such a large extent upon the published works of others, especially in the section dealing with the phonetics. His description of Sotho *l* before *i* and *u* as scarcely differing from Afrikaans *d* is not correct; this rather follows Tucker's description. On page 15 it is misleading to describe the pronunciation of *hl* as "amper soos 'n Afrikaanse *gl*," which latter is a double sound.

Ease in reference would have been achieved if the term "Class 1a" were used to cover "eiename en verwantskapsname"; the author does refer to "hierdie subklas" but does not name it.

Though all the other parts of speech are so fully treated Professor van Eeden has been too scanty over the noun; each noun class should have received much more detailed treatment than has been accorded, with more examples of the nouns. Jacottet set a good example, over twenty years ago, when he employed distinguishing marks over his *e* and *o* vowels to differentiate them. This can be easily done without upsetting readers who do not ordinarily employ them; and it would have relieved the author from the necessity of continually adding that the vowel is either open or closed. On page 56, for instance, the difference between

*bona* and *bõna*, *hona* and *hõna* would have been immediately seen without further explanation. Further, in view of the advance in our knowledge to-day regarding the real word-formation of Bantu, great advantage would have been achieved if the various elements of the real words in Sotho were hyphenated instead of being written separately as the present orthography demands. Such procedure in a scientific work is fully justified. Thus we should have *mõthõ e-mõhõlõ*, *kẽ-ne nka-rata*, *kẽa-rata hõ-phakisa*, etc. This would have simplified the author's explanations tremendously, and, among other things, have explained why *hõ-*, *lẽ-*, *ka-*, *kẽ-*, etc. are not prepositions (van Eeden's explanation about this in the footnote on page 51 not being convincing).

On pages 47 and 48 it would seem better to consider *-na* a suffix and to treat *bo-*, *yo-* etc. (also on page 58) as pronominal concords; this would emphasise the pronominal character of all these words.

There are many things in this book which could raise interesting discussions. There is a mass of material here, and the author is to be congratulated on a really excellent piece of work. It is a pity that the proof-reading did not eliminate a rather large number of printer's errors in an otherwise well produced book.

C.M.D.

*The Swazi.* An ethnographic account of the Natives of Swaziland Protectorate. By Brian Allan Marwick. London: Cambridge University Press. 1940. xviii + 320 pp. With illustrations and map. 18s.

Mr. Marwick's monograph is a useful link in our knowledge of the Southern Bantu. The Swazi of the Protectorate are an amalgam of heterogeneous clans and tribes of Nguni and Sotho origin united in the eighteenth century by powerful military leaders. The present fairly homogeneous culture of the nation is the result of blending and borrowing of cultural elements that took place before and after the Europeans assumed control, and though the Europeans have ruled the Swazi for over a hundred years much of the "traditional" culture remains.

Following the approach of the usual monographs, Mr. Marwick deals with all aspects of Swazi life—history, kinship, economic activities, political structure, religion, magic, and law. His data are based on his nine years' experience as a government official, a scanty literature and two months intensive field-work. The account is of uneven quality, but succeeds on the whole in giving a clear picture of the principal units into which the nation is divided and of the activities associated with them. General monographs inevitably deal with minor rituals and customs on the same plane as major activities and omit sociological interpretation.



Each chapter contains valuable material, lucidly presented. The section on the village is particularly informative and gains from the use of diagrams of actual homesteads. Elsewhere in the book there is a tendency to emphasise a rigid norm, which often bears little relationship to actual behaviour. In his material on kinship Mr. Marwick indicates an intricate interaction of the principles of differentiation by birth, age and sex and the adjustment of these principles in inheritance and succession. The chapter on economic organisation is sketchy and ignores important changes that have resulted from the introduction of a money economy and the periodic absence of men at labour centres away from their families. The political organisation is unusual and interesting; instead of the typical Nguni system where all control is vested in the king, the Swazi have a dual monarchy in which the king shares his powers and responsibilities with his mother, or, if she is dead, with a classificatory mother. Among the hierarchy of officials are men with whom the king enters into an artificially created bond of blood brotherhood of a type not recorded for any neighbouring Bantu. A similar blood tie is forged between him and two of his queens who hold unique positions in domestic and political activities. The balance within the nation is maintained by an elaborate distribution of duties among commoners and aristocrats. Mr. Marwick gives a description of the constitution rather than an understanding of its dynamics: The admittedly inadequate description of religion and magic contains a good analysis of ritual murders based on records of the Special Court. The hierarchy of courts is concisely explained. Under the heading, "Regulation of Public Life," the author discusses the various sanctions from the angle of Radcliffe Browne's dictum on the formation of social sentiments. Throughout the book Government documents and contributions of other authors on the Swazi are used with critical discrimination.

Since the book deals with the present position, the influence of Europeans is mentioned in each chapter and the role of Government official, missionary, trader, recruiter, miner and settler is briefly discussed. In his evaluation of the effects of these agents of acculturation, there is again an over-emphasis on the formal policy and rather too little appreciation of the reaction of the Natives.

In his preface Mr. Marwick states that in his opinion a knowledge of anthropology is a primary essential for the administrator: He goes even further when he considers that field work is a necessary part of anthropology for the administrator. "Applied antropology" does not mean that the practical man must become anthropologist. Mr. Marwick's extreme approach perhaps indicates that the administrator in

the Protectorate has a restricted, somewhat impersonal relationship with the people he is ruling. Otherwise there would seem to be little reason for the official to experience field-work anthropology for a few months. A good training in administration, effective co-operation with the people and reliable data on their culture contributed by a specialist would probably serve the administrator's purpose.

As the first full-length description, Mr. Marwick's book will be a valuable guide to Europeans doing practical work in the Protectorate as well as to the student interested in Bantu cultures.

H.K.

*Robert Moffat's Visit to Mzilikazi in 1835.* Edited and annotated by Percival R. Kirby. *Bantu Studies* Monograph Series. No. 1. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. 1940. 38 pp. 2s. 6d.

Professor Kirby, who has just published the second volume of Dr. Andrew Smith's *Diary*, recounting his explorations in Southern Africa, 1834-5, has placed students of South African history under a further debt by making available for the first time a long and detailed account of a two months' visit paid by Moffat to the Matabele Chief in 1835.

This interesting document is an abstract by Moffat himself from "a copious journal giving a minute account of each day's proceedings," which Moffat seems to have sent to his wife. It covers the period from the beginning of June to the beginning of August, when Moffat was in close daily contact with Mzilikazi and witnessed the normal life of chief and tribe, their dances, courts of justice, ceremonial killings and other activities, which he records in detail.

Mzilikazi was very anxious to have "a pleasant ride" in Moffat's wagon: so early in July the missionary took the chief, accompanied by a large and varied escort, for a tour of inspection round his kingdom. This royal progress continued for the best part of July, so that Moffat had a unique opportunity of seeing the entire Matabele tribe in its everyday background. No other European had the same chance of seeing into Mzilikazi's mind and of learning to know his outlook and ideas.

The result of Moffat's observations is surprising. The savage chief reveals himself as a very human fellow, extremely concerned to impress Moffat with his peaceful character and intentions, his hatred of war and aggression. When awkward evidences of past troubles in the shape of ruined and burnt out Bahurutse kraals are passed on the journey, Mzilikazi is careful to point out that this was not his doing. He was surrounded by treacherous enemies, Bastards, Griquas, Korannas, and White people,



who attacked him without cause. They had attacked him "nearly twenty times," he assured Moffat earnestly.

Mzilikazi was genuinely desirous of receiving instruction, but since Moffat needed an interpreter, this was not easy to impart. The chief could not admit, even in the privacy of the wagon tent, that there were things he did not know!

The account of the Matabele cattle posts, the vast numbers of royal cattle—in one kraal alone, Moffat counted four thousand, "all oxen, nearly one colour"—stirs the imagination.

To obtain a true picture of Mzilikazi's character, however, we need Smith's Diary to complement Moffat's observations. Smith gives almost daily instances of brutal killings of men and women, whose bodies are stuck carelessly into ant-bear holes, around every place where the chief had halted. Moffat was not aware of what his "son" was doing, while the latter was protesting his desire to be guided by his "father," Moffat.

The most interesting pointer we get from Moffat is the obvious fear complex by which Mzilikazi is obsessed. His terror of "men with guns and horses" is clearly shown. It helps to explain his subsequent attitude to the Trekkers.

Professor Kirby has enriched our knowledge of the Matabele Chief, who—what with his defiance of Dingaan, his devastations in the Transvaal, his attacks on the Trekkers and flight to the far North—made history in Zululand and the Free State, in the Transvaal and Rhodesia.

L.F.

*On the Education of Teachers*, by Sarah J. Davies. Pretoria: Carnegie Corporation. Visitors' Grants Committee. 1940. 36 pp. 1s.

Educationalists interested in the education of Africans meet the problems, "Should the training of teachers for African Schools differ from that for those going into European schools?" and "Should the training for rural African schools differ from that for urban ones?" The chapters in this report on the preparation of teachers for rural schools and particularly for schools of the Coloured communities in the Southern States will be useful to those concerned with Native education. The booklet should find a place in the libraries of Higher Primary training classes. It is, however, a little unfortunate that the sample of specialised training given is "Penn" school, already well known to South African students. It would have been interesting to know if the "Penn" example has been followed in other Negro training colleges with modification to the special needs of the area.

E.B.J.

*Phenda-Luambo ya Zwikolo zwa Venda*, by T. M. H. Endemann and E. F. N. Mudau. Pretoria : van Schaik. 72 pp. 1s. 6d.

This is an elementary grammatical study of Venda written in Venda with exercises for the use of Venda pupils. The terminology is based on the earlier work of the same type which was written by Dr. P. E. Schwellnus. This work shows that such terminology can be handled without much reference to English equivalents. It should serve a very useful purpose in Venda schools.

C.M.D.